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ABSTRACT

The National Council on Indian Opportunity visited 5 major cities in 1968-69 for the purpose of holding hearings about the problems of urban Indians with a view toward stimulating remedial Federal Government and local community action. This report organizes the urban Indian concerns and characteristics evidenced during the hearings which had to do with multiple problems of adaptation to the city. The report emphasizes the needs, inadequacies, and problems in the areas of housing, information and communication, health and medical care, law, social activity and recreation, and social services. Much is included in the way of direct quotations from the testimony of Indian witnesses. Related documents are ED 051 949, ED 051 950, ED 052 872, and ED 052 873. (JH)

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AN EXAMINATION OF THE 1968-1969 URBAN INDIAN HEARINGS HELD BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON INDIAN OPPORTUNITY

PART V: MULTIPLE PROBLEMS OF ADAPTATION

by

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HELD BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON INDIAN OPPORTUNITY
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Introduction

This report deals with the public testimony delivered before the National Council on Indian Opportunity during its 1968 - 1969 visits to five major cities -- Los Angeles, Dallas, Minneapolis-St. Paul, San Francisco, and Phoenix. These visits were for the purpose of holding hearings about the problems of urban Indians with a view toward stimulating remedial federal government and local community action.

The NCIO came into being in March, 1968 by Presidential Executive Order Number 11399. Chaired by the Vice-President of the United States, its cabinet members were designated as the Secretaries of Interior; Agriculture; Commerce; Labor; Health, Education, and Welfare; Housing and Urban Development; and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. The six appointed Indian members of the Council were:

Wendell Chino, Mescalero Apache, President of the National Congress of American Indians

La Donna Harris, Comanche, Organization Official, Housewife, Chairman Urban (Off-Reservation) Indians

William Hensley, Alaska Native, Representative of Alaska State Legislature

Roger Jourdain, Chippewa, Chairman of the Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians

Raymond Nakai, Navajo, Chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council

Cato Valandra, Sioux, Chairman of the Rosebud Sioux Tribal Council

The NCIO appointed Mrs. La Donna Harris to chair an inquiry into the conditions of life for urban Indians. In each metropolitan area selected, resident Indians and representatives of government or social agencies that deal with Indians were invited to attend and discuss problems in the areas of education, housing, employment, recreation, social services and justice.

The sequence of the hearings was as follows:

Los Angeles, California	December 16-17, 1968
Dallas, Texas	February 13-14, 1969
Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota	March 18-19, 1969
San Francisco, California	April 11-12, 1969
Phoenix, Arizona	April 17-18, 1969

The five volumes which contain the testimony presented in the hearings provided no indication of the rationale for selecting these particular cities. Los Angeles, of course, contains the largest urban Indian concentration in the United States, and may have been selected for that reason. The smaller (and apparently more widely dispersed) Indian population of San Francisco provides some contrast, but it seems curious that other cities, such as Chicago (with its variety of woodlands Indians), Baltimore (with its Lumbees) or New York City (with its Mohawks) were ignored in favor of another California city and in favor of two southwestern choices - Dallas and Phoenix. Of course, the heavy concentration of <u>total</u> (rural and urban) Indian population in the Southwestern and Western states may have occasioned pressures to make the selections which occurred. The volumes also do not make clear the rationale for selecting the Indian and non-Indian representatives of the five cities to appear before the Committee. There is some indication from the testimony that, as one might expect, the more prominent and articulate Indian people tended to be represented rather than those who may have been more typical of urban Indians as a whole. Also, the attendance at the hearings of social service agency and city government representatives, in general, was poor.

This report will organize the urban Indian concerns and characteristics evidenced during the hearings which had to do with multiple problems of adaptation to the city. In a sense it may be viewed as supplementary to earlier reports on the urban Indian hearings which dealt specifically with education, interracial problems, Indian self-definitions, and the Indian center. The attempt has been to deliberately include much in the way of direct quotations from Indian witnesses. This meant that inevitable deci-

sions had to be made about the selection of materials which resulted in the omission of much of the direct testimony in the five large volumes of the hearings. Of course, transcripts of hearings can be faulted because they lack such subtleties as voice inflection, audience-witness interaction, and points of verbal emphasis during prolonged testimony. In addition, there were off-the-record discussions in Phoenix which conceivably could have contained more important material than that which was recorded.

It should be noted (as a matter of fact and not apology) that the two authors of this report are non-Indian.

Earlier reports analyzing the urban Indian hearings have focused attention upon education, interracial problems, Indian self-definitions, and the Indian center.[1] This report deals with other, multiple problems of the city adaptation of Indians.

Much testimony was related to such specifics as housing, information and communication, The Bureau of Indian Affairs, alcoholism and other personal adjustment problems, social activities and recreation, services which are needed, training, employment problems, legal problems, and medical care problems. Details of these concerns are stressed in this report.

Housing

One objective of vital concern to many Indians new to the city is obtaining adequate housing. Often with little money and with large families, Indian people are faced with scant choice when it comes to a place to live. A non-Indian representative of housing authority in Minneapolis describes that city's housing options for Indians in the following way:

> We have a rental market in Minneapolis wherein an Indian family who may have been here for some time, comes in and has few options where to live. For the most part, they are limited to substandard housing, apartments which are, in many cases, barely livable. Often these are owned by absentee owners. I think they can best be described more accurately as exploitation market because that is what it really amounts to --exploitation of families, of individuals -- many times by absentee owners and sometimes by governmental structures themselves.
>
> I think there are several reasons for this. I couldn't possibly list them all. I don't know if anyone knows all the answers as to why these conditions exist.
>
> One, of course, is the pattern of discrimination in urban centers and throughout the nation still exists in spite of all the attempts at legislation.
>
> This is a particularly subtle kind of thing for Indian families, certainly in this area. One of the things we have been trying to get rid of in Minneapolis is residency requirements for welfare, public housing, and other programs. We

still have them although their constitutionality is being challenged. The residency requirement for categorical aids has been successfully challenged. We have one case before the Supreme Court on housing. I expect it will be thrown out.

Much of the substandard housing has to do with the lack of effective code enforcement over the years. Two-thirds of the housing in the code areas of a city like Minneapolis were built before 1915 or 1920 -- before there were any codes, actually, on the books. The first codes appeared in the late twenties. From that time until the present there has been no systematic and adequate code enforcement. I think the primary reason for this is that it takes large and effective staff to do this. Perhaps an even greater reason is that it's a very difficult thing politically for a political system such as ours in Minneapolis, where we have the ward system, for an alderman to actually enforce codes in his ward because this is an unpopular kind of program. As a result we finally come, then, to a point where we have housing such as these where Indian families and other minority families, poor white families, are relegated to live.

Efforts to rehabilitate and rebuild the housing are progressing. I think we are beginning to pick up in this area, but we have a long way to go. One of the most difficult problems is to provide new housing, housing that can be sold or rented at reasonable rates to low income families. Every year, the construction costs of housing go up. I think it's gone up something like eight or ten percent now in this last ten years, the cost of producing a new house. It's very, very difficult, for instance, for a builder to produce a house in the city, a three bedroom house, for under $17,000 or a larger house for under $20,000. That's including the cost of land.[2]

An Indian woman in Minneapolis continued the seriousness of the housing shortage for Indians and had some recommendations:

> Housing presently available to people of Indian descent in the city of Minneapolis is substandard and in short supply...while residents, tenants in general, are confused and lack knowledge about their rights and responsibilities under the Minneapolis Housing Maintenance Code as opposed to those of their landlords in this city, this is especially true of Indians.

> The recommendation we make is that efforts should be greatly increased to inform landlords and tenants as to what their rights and responsibilities are, the housing codes should be increased so that not only health, welfare, safety and fire hazards are covered, but also those of design and comfort as in the Canadian Housing Code, and to make this workable. The federal government should make very low interest rate loans and grants available to small homeowners who are served with housing code violations. This would especially be helpful in non-urban renewal and in non-concentrated code enforcement areas.
>
> ...we recommend that aggressive, affirmative action recruitment programs to hire and train Indians in all housing agencies should be required by the Equal Opportunity Office of the Housing and Urban Development Department. Such Indian employees could more effectively gain the confidence of other Indians, and therefore, could do a better job, especially in explaining tenants' and landlords' rights and responsibilities, federal housing programs and their special implications to urban Indians.
>
> Another problem, Indians can least afford, of any group, to pay for decent housing which costs relatively little and yet are of good design and adequate comfort. Moreover, they lack earnest money, home maintenance funds and other costs, even though they could afford to pay the monthly payments of rnntal and sales units.
>
> In addition, there are Indian groups who could be potential non-profit housing corporation sponsors of housing for moderate and low income people; they lack the technique and expertise and the money needed to put together a package to apply for federal funds.[3]

Another Indian lady in Minneapolis noted the problems caused by large families and relatives and by sub-standard housing, and spoke of the need for a "newcomer center":

> The major problems in housing are people living in substandard housing, with housing in the suburbs difficult for our people to get. We also have a newcomer difficulty.

First of all, there are large families involved; many have more than five children so this makes getting a house very difficult in the first place. Also, people have relatives living in the target area and like to live with them. This causes another problem, moving in with relatives. We have decided on a couple of solutions. One is a newcomer center we hope to establish, in fact, within the next week. This should be a house for people who come into the city. I should tell you we have families coming in almost every day, with no place to live and it's very difficult to find homes for them. This is what our staff does.

This newcomer center would provide a house for people to stay perhaps one or two months until we are able to find permanent housing for them. Several church groups are working with us to do this, about five, in fact. They would act as host families to these families coming in. The Indian Center would act as the guide to finding permanent homes and employment for them.

> The other problems in housing are very bad living conditions. In this case we have to find a group of people in housing willing to work together to try to improve the standards that people live by, the housing code, I mean. Some of the houses have insects, rodents, town-down back stairs, houses that need paint and many, many things. These things have to be done on a local level, so this is how we are working in housing.[4]

This need for temporary housing for Indians was seconded by a Minneapolis Indian man serving as an employment professional, when he pointed out:

> The main problem I find, in working with the Indian population, is housing. Finding the Indians a job isn't the hardest thing, it's housing and keeping them on the job. Follow-up is another problem. The Indians between jobs that have no money and are job hunting, they don't have any place to turn to. They have no resources that could really help them. I think one of the solutions would be to have a center or housing unit for Indians to come to. Any Indian, not the ones down here or on reservations, but all Indians while they are job hunting. After they get a job, give them some kind of assistnace until they get their first pay check.[5]

In addition to these problems, asserted one Minneapolis Indian woman, there was the matter of housing discrimination:

> THE CHAIRMAN: Do you consider the Twin Cities having what is referred to as an Indian ghetto?
>
> ALFRIEDA BEAVER: I don't like the word ghetto. I think there is a higher concentration area in the south. For one reason, that is the only place they are allowed to move to. Sometimes if you go to look for a place to rent, you go to the house and they see you are Indian, they will tell you that the house has already been rented. But if you have a white couple who are friends of yours and can go back to the same house, the house is available. On AFDC families, if they find out they are AFDC families or welfare families, their rent is up maybe fifteen to twenty dollars.
>
> When landlords evict families, they think they can put them out anytime they feel like it, under the assumption that the welfare office takes care of these people and looks for homes and gets them settled. They think these families actually don't have any problems because the welfare takes care of them, and this is not true.[6]

Finally, a Minneapolis Indian man added another dimension to the housing problem --that of mobility and choice:

> The Indian is a very mobile person who believes in living where he chooses, and that includes suburban areas.[7]

Much the same sort of picture emerged in Dallas. A Bureau of Indian Affairs official described the availability of housing for migrating Indians in these forms:

> It's a big problem and it's not only the Indian people but all groups coming to Dallas and they're coming here by the hundreds, I'm sure, every day and finding difficulty in locating adequate housing, especially the unskilled person. But, again, if you can pay a hundred and twenty-five to a hundred and fifty dollars a month rent, there's housing available, very nice apartments available. Most of our people cannot pay that kind of rent initially when they come. Again, this is one area where we put in a lot of hours, trying to find

> especially housing for families now. We have several room and board places that are available to young single men and women coming to Dallas. Many of them go to the YMCA, initially. Later on, after they've been here and got acquainted, they may team up with two or three other individuals, and rent an apartment. That way they can afford to pay a higher rent; of course, families can't do that, so they are still quite often handicapped for a longer time period in finding good quality housing or mediocre housing.[8]

Two commentators referred to housing information and availability when they noted:

> (We get information) from the newspapers, from previous rental agencies, landlords that we have dealt with. My housing man isn't here this evening, but he works pretty hard, any lead he can get, any --especially on any family housing, we follow up and try to, you know. Again take an individual family out to show them what is available. Unfortunately, again, because of limited income, sometimes their choices are not as good as we would like. Sometimes we feel we do very well for the cost that's available compared to the other housing available.[9]

* * *

> I would even make a generalization that it's harder for Indians to get this information (about housing) because of their lack of experience.[10]

Multiple problems of large families, housing discrimination, and inadequate or inappropriate housing selection were mentioned by several Dallas witnesses:

> Well, my problem is that we all like to have better housing and I would like to have a bigger and better house for my family because I have a big family. I have eight boys. We cannot very well afford to get a bigger house because of this big family I have. Every time it seems like I find a bigger house for ourselves that would suit us, we try getting it, getting information for it. They won't let us have it because of the big family that I have. They tell me big families are the roughest families. That's why they won't give it to us. That's the reason I

would like to have that big house and for my family. We'd like to have them grow and get an education. One of my sons wanted to go to college and that's what I would like to have for them. I would like to raise them in a better home and all that, and better things most of them would want, too.[11]

* * *

Now, with an open housing law in effect, Indians need to be informed of their rights and what action to take when there is apparent discrimination. Some landlords still say they have no vacancies when someone with brown or black skin applies.[12]

* * *

I already said Indian families coming in from reservations or other states, they're given inferior housing. I know them --well, I don't know them, they're acquaintances, I've picked them up to take them to work. I've seen their houses. They shouldn't be lived in at all, you know. If they're going to be helped, they ought to be helped, until they really get on their feet, you know, not just put them here, and forget about them, you know.[13]

* * *

Now, these families are large, they're not just two or three in the family. If there was two or three in the family, they could find housing facilities easy. This is a problem. They can't pay one hundred to one hundred twenty-five dollars a month, and that's what they will be asked to pay, plus a deposit. When they have a large family, I know, I've had to put up deposits.[14]

* * *

CHAIR: Is there any effort to locate these families as close to their jobs as possible; is this taken into consideration?

MR. BEAMES: Where possible, but, actually, when we've got a family to house, if we can find a decent house at rent they can afford, we're going to nail that house and hope. I say we're going to nail it, they're the ones that decide, but most people in Dallas are commuting;

I say commuting, we drive quite a ways to our jobs, most of us do. Some of the industrial areas are quite a ways from the areas where people live, so most of them have to travel, and some are fortunate to live within walking distance of where they work, but I'm sure these are rare.[15]

* * *

MR. WILLIS: I think that if you send an Indian family down here that's fresh off the reservation, I feel like it would be my duty as an officer of this department not to put that Indian right over a beer joint and let him live there. That would be one of my recommendations, that we change this.

CHAIR: The selection and location of the housing of these people?

MR. WILLIS: Right, the housing would have to be more selective. This is not a gripe session, but these are some things that I would like to kick off.[16]

In Dallas, a representative of the Bureau of Indian Affairs detailed employment assistance housing activity for the committee:

Here are some figures I think you may be interested in. We took our arrivals from the last fiscal year. This would be July 1, 1967 through June 30, 1968. We had 375 single adult and family units arrive for our services that fiscal year; 37% of those came to us from Oklahoma. Of course there are many, many tribes, at least thirty or more tribes in Oklahoma. Arizona was next with 22%; New Mexico had twelve percent; South Dakota, nine; and North Dakota, five; Alaska, 4; Montana, 3. And, these are percentages. Mississippi, 2, and then Minnesota, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, one percent. We did have one individual from Florida and Nebraska. This wasn't even a whole percentage. So, we do have Indian people and Alaskan natives. There are three groups in Alaska, the Indian, the Eskimo, and the Aleut from the Aleutian chain. They come to us from throughout the entire Indian country, but, again, more from Oklahoma than from any other place.

We have found our housing costs for the people we are serving. A family apartment average: seventy-seven dollars per month and a house eighty-one dollars and seventy cents.

This was taken prior to June 30th over a six months' period, January 1 through June 30th of 1968. Public housing, the average was forty dollars per month. During the same period for singles, apartments averaged thirty-four dollars and twenty cents. I should point out generally this was shared with more than one individual in the apartment. The individual's share was thirty-four dollars and twenty cents. Rooms were about forty-two dollars and sixty-two cents, the figure we have here, for rooms for single adults. During the period July 1st to November 30th of 1968, actually the figures are very similar, I don't think there's any point in repeating them... There's not enough difference to be meaningful, but I would like to point out since June, we have not housed anyone in public housing. Elmer Scott housing project, in particular. For many years this was where most of our families that came to Dallas were housed, especially when the wages were low. Quite frankly, those large families were unable to pay the rent it cost in other areas.[17]

Finally, several Dallas witnesses referred to the Bureau of Indian Affairs home purchase program:

I'm from FHA, I've been working there less than a year. I did come through employment assistance about like everybody else here. And I've kind of lost contact with BIA. Until just a month ago, I didn't even know they had a housing program for Indians who have relocated. I talked to someone a few days ago and she said they have one thousand dollar down payment, and closing costs that they can help Indians with but there's a limitation of three years on this money. I didn't know this and I'm sure a lot of Indians don't know it. That's all I can tell you as far as FHA.[18]

* * *

Well, first I would like to thank you for letting an Indian have his say-so for once. I'd like to touch on this housing business. I'm not very good with my English, but just like I said, I'm going to speak my piece, whether I make a mistake or not. It's all right as long as you all understand me. If I get a little emotional, forgive me, because the Indian is close to my heart. One of the things about housing, I would like to see it more flexible for some

of the Indians that live in West Dallas. They are in a poor neighborhood down there. I talked to one lady the morning after I got your letter, and they have a family of eight boys and live in a little two bedroom house. They cannot qualify for this housing the BIA claims they have for the Indians. That is one of the things I would like to see changed. If an Indian shows he can stand up to his responsibilities, no matter how much he owes or or anything else, and hold a job down given to him by a relocation business, I would like to see housing more flexible to fit his needs.[19]

* * *

We have been able to get some exceptions to that three year limitation. Many of the families that come into the area are not ready to buy homes. They're just not solidly enough established here. They're still buying refrigerators and things like this, and they're not ready to go into home purchase. So many of them have been here beyond the three years. We have been able to get exceptions on an individual basis.[20]

Similar problems of housing shortages, housing discrimination, and over-priced housing were raised in San Francisco and Phoenix:

> Urban renewal is normally a program to provide for housing. If you have read the sales pitch, the politician gives you the principal push of urban renewal to try to bring back to the city the middle class white. The politician thinks the economic survival of the city is dependent upon bringing back middle class whites from suburbia. The statistics for low and moderate cost housing has been reduced in quantity in the urban area by the Urban Renewal Program. There is less housing for poor people in American cities than ever before today.[21]

* * *

> I was from Phoenix before we came back to retire, so I knew the area pretty easily. But I know a few years back where a member of my family wanted to buy property in a certain area, and he could not because he was an Indian. I am happy to say now, though, that this has been eliminated in this particular area.[22]

* * *

But on the housing, if you go to a person and he finds out --you answer an ad in the paper. It says the house is 85, 80 dollars a month, 70, 75 dollars a month. Then you go to the house and it is one hundred ten, one hundred fifteen. And it is an old shack that isn't worth twenty-five dollars a month, and they want a hundred.

That is my problem. Something ought to be done about this. I mean not next year, next week, but right now, because I think there is a lot of problems like that all over this city that people just want to take advantage of everybody. I don't think it is only the Indians' problems, but I think everybody has got this problem on housing.[23]

* * *

We also have a problem with housing, and this has been pointed out in the Human Rights Commission... One of our most pressing problems at the present time is the need for adequate housing. Many times we have people come to our center who need a place to stay. These people usually have arrived in town, and are looking for work. The Friendship House at 18th and Steiner Street takes some of these people, but their facilities are limited. The rest, we have to refer to the Salvation Army, or one of the missions. Often, these people are reluctant to go, and this is understandable.

The BIA only provides housing for the people it brings out. The American Indian Center does not have funds to provide housing for any length of time. We have found, when you find a place for a client to stay, that person practically always can find a job once he gets adjusted.[24]

As in the following comment from Dallas-- only rarely, did a witness suggest that housing quality was influenced by Indian life-styles:

As once a doctor said, the problem with our programs today is that we try to take the people out of the slum areas, but wherever they do, they're going to keep their slums. I think if we take the slums out of people, we then clean up the community and make it a respectable community.[25]

The testimony at these hearings suggests, then, that housing is a severe and persistent problem for urban Indians today. Some of the dimensions of that problem appear to be the following:

1. Simple discrimination in housing.
2. Shortage of adequate and suitable low-rent housing.
3. Crowding due to large families and extended families.
4. Lack of choice, or flexibility, in housing arrangements, especially in Bureau of Indian Affairs housing programs as well as limitations upon the selection and location of housing.
5. Location of Indian families in substandard and hazardous housing.
6. Absentee ownership of housing, leading to exploitation of Indian tenants.
7. Difficulty in getting basic housing information and lack of understanding of tenants' and landlords' rights and responsibilities.

Information and Communication

Throughout the hearings, it was evident that information and communication needs of urban Indians were critical and often unsatisfied. The establishment of an effective communications network in the city among Indians and between Indians and institutions apparently was a difficult problem.

There were some who viewed the problem as soluble largely through improved functioning of the Bureau of Indian Affairs:

> The Bureau of Indian Affairs should, as a matter of policy, inform all newly arrived Indians of all the existing programs and activities which may enhance his or her stay in the Los Angeles area.[26]
>
> * * *
>
> Also the Bureau of Indian Affairs should print a monthly newsletter, available to all Indian organizations within the area they serve. Most all organizations I know of besides the -- the reaction or the social organizations-- primarily are set up to take care of the influx of Indians

because we are interested in Indians. The Catholic Indian Club, the Indian Center, the Welcome House, the Acting Group, all of those people are interested in the young Indians coming to town. Not knowing the influx, or where they are living, or how many come in this week, next week; by the time we have reached them, they have moved. Some have gone, some have even gone home. So it is utterly impossible to reach these children and the students that are coming into town. Even the adults that are on vocational training. I think it is necessary for the Bureau of Indian Affairs to print a sheet, some kind of a booklet telling us there are so many students coming in a week so we can make the contact and approach these people, the different religious groups, their affiliations, and whatever.[27]

* * *

...I feel if we can receive from the government information on how to get in contact with these different agencies, like Family Planning, all these agencies, I think we'll make good adjustment.[28]

* * *

Local adult education programs should be an instrument sponsored by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. New arrivals should be made aware of such a program and refer all newcomers.[29]

However, as was pointed out in Dallas, not all Indian migrants are known to the BIA:

...Not all the Indian population here in the Dallas-Fort Worth area came through the BIA, and their services are actually restricted only to the people who are relocated through their services, so they really don't have contacts. You heard Brother Bob say that he knew of seven families that came from New Mexico. There's no way in the world the BIA would even know these people are coming in, that they're here, so, actually, I think that the community itself would have the responsibility in notifying them of what services are available because this, you know--every agency is limited to a certain degree. You are offering a service to the community which the taxpayers of the community, people living in the community, are actually

> paying for that -- it seems that the city would have some responsibility for getting this information out to the public.
>
> MR. MILLER: If a person had participated in the events of the local community, I think the persons always -- because persons always talk, and I think you're right on that part. Then I think there ought to be a set organization -- there's got to be somewhere people can know what's going on, what's taking place.[30]

Commonly, it was noted that Indians are unaware of important eligibilities and rights:

> I've found that in so many cases the very people that these programs are created for, are the last to know about their availability. I think it's just incredible sometimes...just to make an observation for the record. I would like to see more responsibility by the agency in getting the news out to their potential clients.[31]
>
> * * *
>
> The majority of the Indian people who run afoul of the law are almost totally ignorant of their obligations and rights. A legal program is needed, funded by possibly OEO or an existing agency funded by OEO.[32]
>
> * * *
>
> The Indians are not always aware of welfare benefits and requirements. Additionally, caseworkers are rarely able to relate to welfare cecipients. A social case worker recruited from the Indian population, hired by the County of Los Angeles, and operating out of the Indian center would more than justify his or her salary.[33]
>
> * * *
>
> If they have been here five years, and are still here, they are going to make it.
>
> The first five years is the tough part. It's in this time that we need assistance, instruction in credit buying, in services that are available, some place every Indian who comes here know to go.

That is, if he has a question he knows where to go. If he doesn't know where to ask, he won't ask. I think we find this true in almost anything. If he doesn't know where to ask, he just won't ask. Consequently, we have people probably eligible for health services. They are eligible for Social Security, for everything, but they don't know where to go. They don't know they are eligible, don't know where to ask.

We need some organization, some group, be it ours or be it the government, to help them that first five year period.[34]

* * *

There is no way in the Phoenix directory, or anyhow that I can state this, because I don't have the money in order to advertise, that I know of places where people can live. But maybe by word of mouth can get this around. But there are places. There are places where you can lease, or you can lease to buy. There's always a way. Don't let anything stop you just because there is an obstacle. Don't let it get you down.[35]

* * *

...I don't think the folks sometimes realize what is available to them, regardless of whether they come into an urban area from -- directly from an Indian reservation -- you know, this is one of the normally- well, over the years, these folks in an area such as Anadarko have looked for assistance continuously almost, to those Indian agencies, and, gee, you pick them up from this community and slap them down into an urban community. This is, from almost a rural community into an urban community and some of them trying to make it on their own -- if they just had somebody where they could go and ask questions Many or these folks want to stand on their own feet, but they're a little strange, they're an Indian and somebody makes a comment in connection with this and they have a tendency to withdraw into themselves. It's taken me almost ten to fifteen years to get close enough to these people to have them talk to me and tell me some of their stories and some of their problems. I cherish this relationship.[36]

There was indication that some representatives of non-Indian agencies who attempted communications contacts with Indian people were frustrated by lack of contact points. A non-Indian representative of the Social Security Administration in Dallas described this difficulty:

> Now, there are only about, as well as I can understand, 250 Indian citizens out in the West Dallas area. However, I have not been able to find the touchstone or the center where all the wires converge and someone knows how to pull a string and get aid to someone else. As a matter of fact, I have found among the black citizens in West Dallas the same problem: no centralized organization or no central point where you can pick people out who will really get things done. If I have no other purpose today than to find out who I can talk to so I can get more information out and get in touch with people to whom we might be able to give assistance, then, of course, it would give a great deal of gratification to me.[37]

In Dallas, where Indian community structure and organization seemed least well developed, some Indians found the hearing itself to be the first really effective communications forum in that city:

> I do want to commend you on this excellent meeting for all the Indians. I think I've learned more in the last two days than I've learned in ten years since I've been here. We try through powwow and church organizations and things of this sort, but being a half Choctaw Indian and wanting to help the Indian people, I feel I'm up to a blank wall. At home in our den, we have seven huge boxes of clothes, furniture and luggage -- I was planning to take them back to Oklahoma with no references. I didn't know who to go to, what organizations, and like I said, I've learned more these last two days than I thought possible about the Indians. I think my questions have already been answered through some of the speakers. But I do feel like there is a communication gap, the Indian people, maybe they're poor, without food, but they have the pride and dignity. They won't ask for help, you know, unless you're there, personal contact in letting the people know, whether it's through newspapers -- sometimes they're so poor, maybe they don't have radios, TV's and newspapers and things of this sort. There needs to be a reaching of the people. A lot of them are people here, they're leaders of the Indian community and they're well above average, and

we need to reach the poor people. The BIA is doing an excellent job on jobs and so forth, but after checking them, one or two follow-ups, that's when somebody needs to take over, somebody to help these one-third that are going back to the reservations. We need to find help for these people. How can we help? Any suggestions? We have bankers, during Christmas, we didn't know -- they collected money, clothes, and things of this sort. At that time I didn't know who to send these to, who to go to. I did call the BIA and received a few church suggestions. They weren't allowed to give any family names, so we had to take them back to Oklahoma and the welfare agency gave us the names of Indian families, needy ones, you know. We helped about 31 families that way. But it's lack of communication, I believe. I've found more help these two days -- information, and people -- I feel like we can band together and get something done. That's all I had to say.[38]

In Minneapolis and Los Angeles, on the other hand, Indian communications needs and capabilities had developed to the point of utilizing television and radio:

> We have a real problem in communicating to our own Indian people. Everybody has the idea Indians are apathetic. This is because we've been separated so long. We are finally getting together and beginning to know each other in the last couple of years. We have a couple of television programs helping us. We have one on Channel 2 every Friday, which is the Educational TV channel. We broadcast Indian news, and Indian organizations tell the other people in the community what's going on.[39]
>
> * * *
>
> Our communications system here is bad. We finally are getting a publication that is being widely circulated. The "little Indian illustrated" is beginning to get wider circulation and be a good house organ for all of us to use to communicate.
>
> Along that line, several members in our club got together and formed a small group that produces, directs, edits and puts on the air, three radio programs a week in the Los Angeles area. One

program is five years old, and the other two programs are over a year old. They deal directly with news of the American Indian, the events that are going on, the dances, the singing -- anything that is going on.

They have Indian music, comments, stories and are quite informative, not only to the Indian but to the community at large. We ahve quite a wide listening audience. The studio determines this by the mail we receive.

The only thing we need is a wide listening audience that will write letters and ask them to give us a more favorable time on the radio. It is a public service program, and all finances are picked up by the station. A small group of people finance the taping, the equipment, and delivering. If we had a little better time, it would be helpful.

The program begins at 6:30 a.m. Sunday morning and goes through 7:30 a.m. It is rather early for most people.[40]

A Los Angeles witness stressed the ordinary confusion of Indian people over rights and privileges:

> The whole life of the American Indian is surrounded by confusion as to what he is or is not entitled to.
>
> I just came from the Morongo Indian Reservation where a person from Morongo and the Pomo Reservation got together and were debating why one person had allotments and one person had assignments, and one could sell land and one couldn't. In other words, they do not know why. The Indian on the reservation does not know what he can do and what he can't do. That's the situation they ran into, as to who was supposed to put water on the reservation. Finally by raising noise, they got the Public Health Service to come in.[41]

That statement was challenged by staff member Carmack when he pointed out:

> Some of the things you say don't ring exactly right to me. I might give you one or two examples. When you say the average Indian on the reservation does not know what he can or cannot do in regard to the disposition of his property there has probably been more preoccupation on the part of reservation manage-

ment with property than anything under heaven.

Secondly, I don't know where I would find the average Indian on a reservation. That would be like saying the average American of European ancestry. There is nothing that a Navajo would see as average if he visited a Crow reservation, maybe.[42]

The hearings themselves as communications attempts prompted some cynical comments in San Francisco and the suggestion in Minneapolis that the committee was not succeeding in its attempt to establish a dialogue with Indian citizens in attendance:

ERIC BYRD: The mayor's interest is mayors and governors and presidents all over this country and all over this world. If you're interested in something, a politician isn't interested. Who is here today from the mayor's office? Would you stand up? The mayor is interested in the Indian problem. Who is here from his office? Who did he send out? Surely, he sent someone out. (no response)

MEMBER OF THE AUDIENCE: It's a wonder he didn't send the tac squad out. (laughter, then followed by applause)[43]

* * *

Sometimes it seems to me in going to some of these conferences and meetings that there is a lack of communication between the people up front, sitting on the panel, and the people sitting back on the floor. I have heard an Indian person ask a question of the panel and I'm sure they don't have the slightest idea what he is saying, but they answer back, and again I'm sure he doesn't have any idea of what they are saying. They are talking almost in a different language. The panel sometimes is inclined to be technical and the Indian is very down-to-earth. Sometimes I have a feeling neither knows what the other is talking about. So, communication back and forth is a difficult problem.[44]

* * *

It seems like whenever a bunch of people get together like this some official or some person from above a government place or Washington knows what's going on.

> You know, everybody has a complaint, and it's a real phony thing to me, because all the people have kind of spoke. I'm sure Mrs. Harris heard it in Los Angeles, things that are so similar. I guess you could say, government officials come to the city, listen to the Indians' problems, and the same old thing happens. They go back to Washington and that's the end of it. I think that's what is happening here today.
>
> I think most of you really know it. You know, Mrs. Harris is here to listen to the problems of the urban Indian. After it's over with you're going to wonder what is going to happen? Is something going to come off or not? The Indian is still hoping. If he keeps on hoping, he's going to die of frustration.[45]

Finally, in Dallas, there was the sober realization that years of controversy about Indian affairs had left their mark upon the style of communication efforts:

> ...one of the things that would contribute a great deal to success in dealing with Indian problems is a deliberately rational, non-partisan, dispassionate approach to the subject. The bitter and frequently unfounded charges, the emotion and the impatience that has attended discussion of Indian affairs have been a barrier to facing the facts and understanding the real issues.[46]

Thus, it appeared that there were several paramount communications problems and concerns in the minds of Indian people who spoke at the hearings.

1. Increased communications efforts by the Bureau of Indian Affairs were viewed as necessary to aid relocated Indians and, especially, to put Indians in touch with Indian and non-Indian organizations which could be of help.

2. Many Indians were judged to be uninformed about, and unaware of, available assistance and were said to be ignorant of their obligations and rights as urban citizens. New organization and help from Indian agency employees were suggested as remedies.

3. Both Indians seeking help with the problems of living in the city and non-Indian social agency representatives expressed difficulty in establishing effective contact.

4. In Minneapolis and Los Angeles Indian communication needs had led to the utilization of radio and television on a regular basis.

5. Some Indians who attended the hearings regarded that particular communications effort with cynicism, pointing out that nothing could be expected to happen and that important officials were not in attendance.

6. One witness suggested that a new style of communications about Indian affairs was essential to progress in solving Indian problems.

Drinking and Related Problems

There were frequent comments from Indian witnesses about difficulties with drinking and other problems which were linked (in the minds of those who testified) with alcohol. While Indian Americans rightly protest the stereotype drunk Indian in books, movies, newspapers, and casual conversations between non-Indians, it was clear from the Urban Indian Hearings that drinking was regarded by many as a serious problem from Indians in general.

Some general comments from witnesses about Indian adaptation to the city help to delineate the sort of circumstances which may be associated with failure in city living and which may be tied to excessive drinking.

> A lot of times these guys are getting discouraged, and they pack up their families and leave. They're back where they started from. The main thing is, they get a real pretty picture what's going to happen when they come to Dallas, L.A., or Cleveland or wherever you send them. It's not like that when they get there. I think that's their problem.[47]
>
> * * *
>
> Huntington Park, Belle Gardens, and East Los Angeles are the areas in this county that have the primary Indian population we have identified. It is in these areas we have asked our workers to speak to the groups and have the Indians identify and refer their friends at times of crisis to the Department.
>
> At present, the problem most germane to this council

is the information and opinions channel from our district representatives, that the Indians' major problems arise from the difficulty of acculturation on arrival into the community from a rural and primitive communal life. In some areas they haven't adapted to this fast pace and isolation of the city. As has already been indicated, there is an awful lot of competition for jobs.

In many respects, we believe the Indian is like a displaced person. Now, we have talked about him as an immigrant. In other instances I think a displaced person is perhaps the same idea.

He is not used to this life at its fast pace and competition, and consequently they have difficulty.[48]

* * *

Most of the Indian people are eager when they leave the reservation, but this incentive, there is no incentive for the Indian to stay off the reservation. There is every incentive to return to the reservation. None to stay off, because his home is there, because his family is there.[49]

* * *

We do everything -- I recently had to learn how to fill out income tax forms, because they didn't ever know to file it. We have to remind them, they have to file it. They just need leadership, someone to tell them what to do. Now, take the family that came in from Alaska. We had to teach her how to shop in a grocery store.[50]

* * *

...The families are large. In order for them to go to school and continue, and keep the children clothed in school, we help out when we can. We can't reach everyone, but we try. Eventually, the mother goes to work to help out and to get out of the housing project. When they go to work, their rent goes up so high they can't meet it. Then they have back rent piled up on them and they're sued. They get depressed. The father goes to Skid Row, maybe he's already been introduced to it. They move out of the housing project, and unless they have a real sound, sturdy job and a good income, they cannot move on up and get a better place and a small family. Usually the large families settle right back

down in the slums. I'd say from Sullivan back into the housing project. There are only three or four landlords. Maybe there's more. I've only run into three or four landlords, who own a bunch of houses and charge anywhere from $16.50 to $22.50. You can see through the floors and the walls. They don't have a refrigerator and a stove when they move in and she charges them about ten dollars each for these items. That doesn't leave very much for clothing, food, utillties and anything else they're paying on... Some families have made it and gotten above and some families haven't. They soon get so discouraged they go back home.

We come to the employment end. They've brought in some families and sent them to school. I don't know what kind of grades they made but when they get out of the schools, go back for employment, they get them a job and say, "You work at this until something comes up in that line." They get discouraged before something comes up in that line, and what happens? They pack up their families and go back home to something that doesn't exist anymore. Maybe they were living in a house and it's not there to go back home to. We still hear from these families. Some of them have gone back out on relocation, and some haven't. They're still struggling along.

Then we come to education. Down in West Dallas the schools are crowded. I'm not putting any bad light on the schools, but I'll use my family as an example. When we came, we had twin babies and a six year old starting to school that fall. He had to walk a mile and a half to school. I was scared to death, and I couldn't leave my children to go up to meet him, but he made it all right. For the first year he did all right. Starting in the second year, he started speaking Spanish and we couldn't get him to speak English. We decided to move, that was time to getout, really, push that extra dollar as far as it could go and move. Well, we did. When we got up into Oak Cliff, he could not compete in school. When he was an A student down there, he was not here. We really had to push him and he had a brother starting to school. We told him, "He's going to catch up with you if you don't learn." Young as he was he tried. I'm not the only one that has faced this. A lot of them have this problem and their children soon get to the point where they don't want to attend school regularly...We can sit down at the dinner table and a call will come in and say that so-and-so is here. They didn't come under BIA and so they don't have any groceries, their

> children are sick, and one lady has given them a place to live, can you bring them some groceries? Well, I don't know. I can't always take it from my pantry down there. We do have a place where we can go and tell them, "This person needs a little food." Well, they'll get up and leave their home in North Dallas or where-have-you, and come out, and take groceries in. If they need medical care, they'll immediately try to get them to Parkland. You can't always get in Parkland, not if you haven't been here six months.[51]

Others who spoke at the hearings were concerned with general problems of motivation, identity and alienation which could be part of the drinking pattern. Some of these persons suggested attitudes and techniques for success in the city:

> When somebody, say, this boy from Alaska, leaves the reservation, he is probably one of the more intelligent, is going to leave with high hopes. His friends, his peers in that village are going to look up and say, "Look, there goes old Tim. He's going off and make it big."
>
> When he has to come back, in a period of months, and admit failure in the city, what is this going to do to the rest of the young people toying with the idea of going off and trying to learn some type of trade?
>
> It is going to hold them back. It is going to make them have self doubts, because they looked up to this person. He was more or less a hero for leaving, and then when he has to come back it has a negative feedback.[52]
>
> * * *
>
> You know, we weren't born like this. I think we were conditioned not to be motivated.[53]
>
> * * *
>
> At one plant my daughter did not want to identify as an Indian, which was very sad. Later, as she got older, she began to stand up for the Indian people.[54]
>
> * * *
>
> We talk about alienation. We have a funny kind of alienation in the Indian community. It really starts when we

are born on the reservation, because while we are there, we are geared to a lifestyle that is not very comfortable to take along with us into the city. When we get there, we don't know really what do we leave and what do we pick up to develop a healthy personality and to develop some character out here, because we really haven't the kind of discipline and the kind of character built in and the kind of responsibility on the reservation that we need out here.[55]

* * *

I think one thing that we haven't touched upon, and this has a lot to do, in may way of thinking, is the reservation and the concentration there. This think has hampered the Indian people more than I think we realize. I speak of this from my own personal observation, looking at it myself. I think this is the thing that bugs a lot of us.

I look at the self image, the self respect, the personal worth, this kind of thing, and I don't know what it was like before the reservation got here. This is one of the things that has done a lot to harm the Indian person. I think this is the thing we are talking about when we talk about some of the people with their dropout problems. I think this is very evident. I would have to consider this one of the strong points.[56]

* * *

(Regarding the "six-month syndrome") They come into town, become successful, and bang, in six months everything goes to hell, because we haven't got the kind of discipline that is required out here. We have never had the routine of the reservation that you need out here to live with.[57]

* * *

...I have to relate personal experiences. My trail to California wasn't exactly one of intended relocation, becuase I had received my schooling and occupation training back in South Dakota. However, I followed suit of my sister who deliberately brought her family to Los Angeles. Her reason for that may or may not have any bearing, but I think it might possibly slant our thinking in this direction. She was a graduate of Augustana College, in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, and

sought to make her way in the white world. Therefore, when she began to raise a family, she was a little bit reluctant to have them raised in South Dakota, in the urban areas, because everybody knew an Indian. Even though there was no discourtesy intended, we still stood out. Therefore she brought them all the way to Los Angeles, so they could be raised among the other ethnic races. It used to be that in the high school in Norwalk my youngest nephew, Jerry, used to refer to himself as Mexican, because no teacher had ever taken enough interest in him to ask his ethnic origin. Rather than explaining he was Indian, and very proud of it, he went along with the other Spanish speaking children there. He regarded himself as Spanish-American, to the point he actually wrote that down. After his teacher, a very sympathetic one, realized what he was doing, she pointed out to the mother that the child had nothing to be ashamed of...[58]

* * *

The way I have found to adjust to living in a big city like this -- in what you call urban living -- is not to go in there feeling afraid to speak, but to go in there and ask for information, because if you ask you will receive some answer. Whether it is right or wrong you will get it. Don't go in with a negative approach. Go in with a positive approach thinking to get something out of it, not to have people wait on you.[59]

* * *

Since coming to Phoenix I have married out of my tribe, which I believe is good also. He is Yugoslav. Understand, I don't claim my little girl is Indian. We don't say she is Yugoslav. In fact, I have decided to start a new nation of my own, either Yugoho or Navaslav.[60]

* * *

We are an older group -- there's a lot of us mothers here, that have stayed, have made an effort, and have managed to make ends meet. For myself, I think we've done real well. Like I say, I can speak for a lot of mothers.[61]

The preceeding observations suggest some of the adjustment patterns, self-concepts, and attitudes which might be compatible with drinking to excess,

as well as some adaptive efforts which some Indians felt were successful. There were witnesses at the hearings who saw adjustment difficulties as being directly associated with drinking, as the following quotations indicate:

> I have a family here that was brought to me five years ago. The father was from Weleetka, Oklahoma and the mother was from Potaau, little areas wide apart up there in Oklahoma. The children were brought here under the family relocation service. The father and mother separated, and the children were sent back to Oklahoma. Then when the daddy came back and said, "Well, I'm ready to try to do something for my kids," even though he was relocated here under that type of service, nobody would help him out. The last I heard of this boy, he gave up in disgust and he was on the road to becoming an alcoholic. His children were up in Oklahoma.[62]

* * *

> A lot of times, a man with a family or maybe a single man is really enthused by getting over here to get that good job, that nice car, and nice clothes to wear, and a good home to live in. Well, when he gets over here, he finds it different, you know. So what does he do? He goes to have a few drinks and before you know it, he's in worse condition than he was back home. He's better off back on the reservation.[63]

* * *

> We have, like I say, many people that are frustrated and can't find jobs. Consequently, alcoholism is a problem. It stems largely through some of the frustrations. Some of the problems are that people are not aware of the facilities available to them, and this is primarily why our center has the referral program. We do have a local health center that deals with some of the Indians that come to our center, and I'm sure you can get information from them.
>
> We have an Indian girl working there, and taking one of their local courses a dental program. We have another file clerk. We've been trying to work toward getting Indian personnel in various poverty programs, so they can help orient or keep us informed of the various programs available in the community.[64]

* * *

I work for the Department of Social Services, and I work in the General Assistance Program. We deal mainly with single adults. We have a number of American Indians who are in need of public assistance in our office. Our major problem with the single adult is alcoholism.[65]

* * *

The most tragic thing that exists in Los Angeles today and probably all throughout the United States is the alcoholic problem. It is in this area that there is a tremendous problem, the hardship that extends from alcohol to the family, the results, the loss of jobs, the broken home, the eviction, and finally back home. It has taken millions to indicate that it is the lack of complete vocational training, the feeling of inadequacy among the working men and the employer, this is a frustration. I think this exists because of the lack of training -- not the lack of training, I think the training up to a point is good, but I think it should be further. I think that rather to be a trainee, a man should go out on a job as a full-aledged journeyman. This would eliminate any frustration with working men because then he could carry the load. I have been told many times, "This boy can't carry it because he can't carry his end of the work." Then the boy is let out or probably doesn't have a job.[66]

* * *

Because of not being properly orientated to urban living, Indians directly from the reservation often find it very hard to adjust to the city way of life. Frustration and depression usually set in after finding out that people and things are not like back home, combined with the fact that they are unable to find employment because of lack of education and training. Many have not finished high school.

After about a month or two of trying to find work, many turn to drinking. This type of escape from reality only leads them deeper into the depths of despair. The majority only need a helping hand,

and then they get back up and try again. We try to reach these people. They most always will straighten up, once they find there's someone who wants to help them.[67]

* * *

...The basic problem is a man come to San Francisco. Usually he'll come to a family, to a job, to something he felt was here. He may not have it a month later or two months later, or a year later. He may have come here thinking there are jobs, and there aren't any. He doesn't come here to get in trouble, he comes here to function, and without any help... It's difficult for someone who knows how to wheel and deal to do it.

I spent five months in this town with a Master's degree trying to find a job. To come to this town with little education, afraid of institutions, not knowing how you would be accepted, and to suddenly find yourself thrown into this town with nothing, alcohol becomes a retreat and it can happen very easily.[68]

* * *

While the actual number of Indians who at one time or another become in need of public assistance in California is difficult to establish, their vulnerability to it is easily identified. Typically, they are unfamiliar with city existence; the daily living patterns of such simple matters as transportation, shopping and related service are alien to them and their cultural differences mark them as strangers to the city.

These adjustment difficulties continue even after securing employment. They find it difficult to make friends and to communicate with their fellow workers and neighbors; that the cost of living in the city is far higher than they expected; that budgeting their new wages is a constant confusion; that they are easy prey to unscrupulous merchants; and that often the only base where they maintain contact with other Indians is a tavern where they can commiserate on getting drunk. This "bar-room society" is destructive to the individual and his family but seems to be the only outlet for many.[69]

* * *

Now nutrition goes hand in hand with alcoholism, a severe problem we have at the American Indian Center. The Friendship House has a program to try to help alcoholics back to a way of living. They provide them with a place to live, and help them find decent employment.[70]

* * *

About four years ago, we attempted to work with AA in conjunction with our Indian alcoholism problems. We found they did not understand the Indian; his problem is unique.

According to a psychiatrist that I worked with one time during a survey on Indian alcoholism, he did not classify the Indian as a true alcohol; it's only psychologically that he needs it, and the Indian doesn't have the problem of quitting drinking like the whiteman does. If he is given a little help, he is able to quit on his own, but he must have his own people around him, because they are the ones that understand his problem; have sympathy for him, and they do not feel he has degraded himself or his people because he has slipped into alcoholism. He still remains what is to us a tribesman, or another American Indian. And this they did not understand.

We started out with a group of about twelve. Within two months' time, they had filtered down to nothing. Therefore, we disbanded that portion of it, but we have not given up on the alcohol program.[71]

* * *

I would like to say, to express my own opinion, I feel very strongly that alcohol in itself is not the problem, it is an emotional problem. It's the symptom of the lack of social acceptance, not being able to adjust, that alcohol itself, Indians are not different particularly on consumption than anybody else. It's the fact they are trying to tell you or tell the community, they have problems. Liquor doesn't affect an Indian any differently than it does anyone else. He is also trying to reach out to say he has problems and he resorts to alcohol as a symptom of his problem and not the problem itself. At least, this is my opinion. I feel very strongly about it; I think what we're saying is we all recognize alcohol as one of the biggest problems the Indian has. What we should be saying, with the Indian, there are other basic

problems, and this is a symptom of a problem. If he were accepted socially, economically, or fully into the community, I don't think alcohol would be a problem as such. ...I think you will find some of your brightest people will sometimes turn to alcohol because they can't find outlets in other areas...We should look to the root causes of why people turn to alcohol as an outlet for their emotional well-being. I'm sitting here preaching, I'm sorry. I didn't mean to, but it is a stereotype that Indians get branded with, "the drunk, lazy Indian." Now, again, I'm saying this, not because you're the witness, I'm really saying this for the record, that is a terrible stereotype Indian people have to overcome. There is truth to the fact that alcohol is a problem, but, again, when you get hung-up on just the alcohol end of it, and don't get to the root cause, we lost the whole effect of what we're trying to do.[72]

* * *

MRS. HARRIS: May I ask, is your agency trying to reach these people before they become alcoholics? I have a very strong opinion that alcohol as a problem as a source, I mean, it's a reaction to a larger problem. Are you working on the other end of the problem?

MR. KLEIN: Unfortunately, the Department only sees a person when they have applied for aid. When they have applied for aid, it's been at a point where they can no longer function outside. At that point, they're in trouble.[73]

* * *

MARY ANN GREY CLOUD: I'm Mary Ann Grey Cloud. I'm a nurse and I work here in San Francisco.

Going back to the discussion about drinking. There are many articles published in medical journals from authoritative sources, where there have been fairly good studies done regarding drinking problems among some of the American Indians. I'm afraid from my own personal experience, my own experimentation with alcohol, and the number of alcoholics within my own family, I have to agree that there is possibly something within the body chemistry of some Indians that does not tolerate alcohol well. Just as there are many people who do not tolerate certain medications, certain drugs, there may very possibly be something within the body

chemistry of some Indians that does not tolerate alcohol. Probably there are Indians who can and do tolerate alcohol as well as anybody else, but from the number of alcoholics I know personally, and within my immediate family --

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: The emotional experience they have, isn't that a factor that would have to be considered rather than the body chemistry?

MISS GREY CLOUD: Yes, of course, that very possibly is a great part of it. Some of this has been taken into consideration in some of the studies, but they are people from comparative sociological groups.

I'm not saying all Indians -- I say I cannot tolerate alcohol personally, just as I don't tolerate barbiturates, and certain other things. I can say this from the alcoholics within my own family. They do not tolerate alcohol, the way our next-door neighbor can tolerate alcohol.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: Because they don't have the same emotional problems, though.

MISS GREY CLOUD: There are many studies in the literature.

MEMBER OF THE AUDIENCE: What exactly do you base your studies on?

MISS GREY CLOUD: I haven't done the studies myself. You know, I've read them in the literature.

MARY LEE JUSTICE: It's easy to come out with a conclusion that it's the body chemistry rather than the social situation he is raised in. If he blames the body chemistry he doesn't have to change the social situation the Indian was raised in.

MISS GREY CLOUD: Well, I'd just like to introduce this as a possible factor to be considered. That's all I really want to do, and I hope I don't alienate a lot of people by saying so.[74]

* * *

They are, like I say, physically wrecked. They have given up hope; they have thrown their arms up and said, "What's the use?" So the next thing that comes to their mind is another drink, to drink themselves into oblivion, completely

unaware of what they can do for themselves.

These people can be helped. I feel that anyone who is still breathing is salvageable. But that's not the way some of the people think. They think that as long as they close their eyes, shut their eyes, that when a person leaves and goes around the corner, the problem is solved. That isn't so. That person is going someplace else, to be a burden to somebody else.

We have received calls from a group of Indians who have ho place to go. They have lived and stayed in the park as a group; they have obtained wine or drugs, whatever it might be; have had a great big Indian dance, making a lot of noise. As a result, neighbors called the Indian organization first, because they don't want to see them go to jail.

But what can we do? Absolutely nothing. There is no resource at all that we can refer them to.[75]

* * *

There's only one thing I stand up for in my boarding house. I'm licensed, I have signs all over the house, the first rule -- I have house rules, you know. You can't run anything without rules.

The first rule in my house is, no drinking allowed on these premises. That means what it says. That gets a boy out of the boarding house fast, if he drinks in my house. I'm married to a full-blood Pueblo Indian and I'm half Choctaw. I know Indians, born and raised--my grandfather was a Cherokee. I was born in eastern Oklahoma, raised there, and never left there, until I was sixteen years old. If I don't know Indians, well, nobody knows them. I love them because you have to love them to know them. If you live with them, you've got to know them, see, if you live with them, you're going to know them. You will know all their ways. I know the boys are going to drink, but I said, "Boys, what you do outside of this house is your business, but what you do in my house, that's my business."[76]

* * *

Another thing about the Indian people, too, it just seems that they haven't been concentrated in one area. I mean, they are spread out all over the city, the whole Bay Area,

> and they come to one place that has been, you know, like an established group. If they know there's a dance or whatever, they come, because there's no place else to go. They go to a bar and drink with the white people, and what do they get? They get drunk; and if anything starts, they get a little belligerent because the white guy walks in and says he's no good.
>
> It's his color. It happens to all the people; not only the Indian people.[77]

In Los Angeles, two attorneys -- both of whom had represented Indians -- referred to Indian alcoholism and the law:

> ...another problem that we have found is where many of the Indians are in difficulty, alcoholism is involved. The courts are at a loss as to what to do to help an Indian who consistently gets arrested. Alcoholics Anonymous at present is not an answer. I feel perhaps it would be best if there were some research, funded through one of the local universities on the problems of alcoholism and its treatment in the American Indian community.
>
> Many of the youth begin to get in trouble with drinking, get arrested, and that is where the merry-go-round starts.[78]
>
> * * *
>
> I would say 99 and possibly some fraction of a percent of the violators violate the law because of alcoholism. We find most of the kids that are rapped in robbery, burglary, grand theft auto, are there because they have done something while intoxicated. Something they would not ordinarily do, steal someone's car, break into a house, etc. There is another problem, I think present tonight. Alcoholism would probably be solved somewhere in the field of education, job opportunities and/or recreation. However, without going into that area, I would like to bring forward to this Commission that there is such a problem. Without alcoholism, we would probably eliminate better than 90% of all the criminal problems in the city of Los Angeles.[79]

In San Francisco, there was talk of self-help programs for urban Indians with drinking problems, and there was the suggestion that institutions attempting to help Indian alcoholics should treat them as an ethnic group:

> There is precedent for dealing with alcoholic problems on the basis of ethnic background. Mendocino State Hospital now has a group of American Indians, I understand. It was on the basis of this precedent that the argument was put forth that problems specific to the American Indian should be dealth with on an ethnic basis. I have been attempting to coordinate some of the facilities available to American Indians... We have some places that deal with alcoholic problems which are religiously oriented. I find many of the men I have referred to these places feel terribly restricted within this religious orientation.[80]

* * *

> Alcohol, as you know, is one of our main problems. Last year we asked the Bureau Of Indian Affairs to set up an alcohol program. They said no. We wanted to set one up for Indians because there are between 8 and 10 thousand Indians right here in the Bay Area, and they estimate there are about 1200 Indian alcoholics, and you go to the alcohol program here in San Francisco and Oakland, and they don't put you in a home.
>
> Oh, they put you in for two weeks, two lousy weeks. In two weeks you don't dry out thoroughly. Then they shove them right out into the streets again. Not into a vocational training course, or into a school where you could learn a trade; they shove you right out on the streets again.
>
> Where are you going to go? You still don't have any place to stay. You're unemployed. You wind up right back where you were before. So we applied for an alcohol program to the Bureau and they turned us down.
>
> We then went to the poverty program and submitted the program for an alcohol clinic, and they turned us down.[81]

* * *

> ...as soon as a program in the field of alcoholism is developed in the Bay Area, I would like to go back down and work with the people from the gutter on up. Because

most of the people who come to us, come straight from the gutter; no job, no means of income of anything.

You might picture yourself across from a person who has come to you because he or she is down and out and you are sympathetic... You try to think of every means that you might use to help him, but where else can you turn to? He has been rejected, usually, from all other agencies and naturally, being an Indian, the only place he can turn to will be the Indian organizations.

We usually call other agencies, but the person has been there so many times that they don't want him there any more. Now, at that point, it is very frustrating, both for the counselor -- myself -- and the individual that is sitting there waiting to be helped.

So the reason why I like to come up here this morning and emphasize more in the way of services to the Indian people - the project that I have in mind that should have immediate attention is the program in the field of alcoholism, in the way of an "all purpose house," whether it be called a "recovery house," "halfway house," or "living center."

No matter what you call it, we need it right away, because people whom we have counseled, we have to refer them to some place temporarily while they straighten themselves out, mentally, physically, spiritually and morally.

Now, these people have come from all walks of life, from all areas. Some people have already been here; have lost their job, but they usually are out of money, cannot go back to the reservation. They have been to the Traveler's Aid, but their reason is not good enough to provide transportation back to their reservations. Indian organizations aren't in a position to help them with transportation back to the reservation. Other agencies are unable to help them. So ther person has come back to the Indian organization because of being an Indian.[82]

Not all the witnesses who commented about Indian drinking thought it should be considered a "problem". In Minneapolis an Indian man noted:

People ask me, "Well, what about Indians and their drinking problem?" I say, Indians just don't have a

> drinking problem. It's a blessing. It turns them off, you know. If it wasn't for alcohol, Indians wouldn't have an out. We would have such a fantastic suicide rate, that it would be unbelieveable. In effect, it's an outlet So alcohol, in itself, is merely a manifestation of an inner turmoil. That's the way it goes.[83]

That comment cause the following retort from another Minneapolis Indian witness:

> I lost a good job in the labor movement because I couldn't handle whiskey. I have been on the wagon for twenty years and I hope to keep the wheel straight and stay on it.
>
> I don't believe any Indian drinks whiskey to cover up, to go into a trance and forget the rest of the world. I think it's an easy way to build up your spirits, and have fun. I know a lot of Indians in the city of Minneapolis who are now on the wagon who were real soaks. We used in this group to help our Indians along this line, too. I don't think we should go around saying it's a relief to our Indians to go out and get stiff.[84]

And in San Francisco, and Indian woman twice pointed out the social advantages of drinking to Chairman Harris:

> I'm going to defend 16th Street. My goodness, every time you have a meeting like this everybody knocks 16th Street down.
>
> Do you know that's the only place you can go and find your relatives when they come out of BIA, becuuse BIA won't give you their names?
>
> It's the only place you can go and be with other Indians, if you live in an area where there'e all white people. It's like a social gathering place. But the thing there is, when a fight starts there should be someone there with the okay of the police department -- instead of having the policemen going down there and beating the kids up, they should have Indian guys go down there, just regular, like these guys, to keep things from getting out of control, because that's a social gathering place.
>
> You know, we don't have no place to go.[85]

* * *

MISS JUSTICE: You'll notice in all of your urban places that you go to -- I've been to Cleveland and Chicago, and you find the same thing, you jave your Indian bars, so instead of trying to change the environment and everything, it's at least a place where you can go to see other Indians.

CHAIRMAN HARRIS: We have it in Washington, D. C., where the Bureau people go down there.

MISS JUSTICE: So all this about environment, you're just talking at the drinking, you're not looking at the socializing that goes on, even though they fight.[86]

Finally, in Los Angeles, an Indian minister, throughout his testimony, stressed the positive impact of religion, work, self-confidence, and aggressiveness for Indians with drinking problems:

When we started our work nobody mentioned the Indian revival center, but it has been here fourteen years. It has grown to be the largest Indian group in the Los Angeles area that gathers every Saturday, every, Sunday. They come from all over the area, from Glendale, Long Beach, Englewood, Hawthorn.

We have seen a transformation of these Indian people's lives. Consequently, because of the change of life, their change of drink, we have some that are here tonight who, after they have taken Christ as their saviour and begin to live a different life, they have gone to the factories and they have become foremen, they have become instructors on welding schools. They have become -- climbed right up the ladder, but it was when they beat that battle of alcoholism.[87]

* * *

...I have found that, traveling across the United States, the problem at Gallup, New Mexico, the problem on the Sioux reservation, the problem among the Crees, and Crows, and all others, the biggest problem is that they get off the alcohol and realize they are able to do anything anybody else is able to do; they can do it.[88]

* * *

If they meet the requirements there is nothing they can't get in this city. If they meet the requirements going to night school -- we have got several that went to night school for auto mechanics on their own. We have got several that went over to further their education and get their high school diploma.

We have got some that went into this electronics and took night school and studied electronics and are now working in electronic factories. On jobs we have had nothing but open arms.

Even alcoholics that we would bring from the court, we would contact factories and say, "We got an alcoholic." A boy who had been a drinker, and I don't know how successful he would be. He might work until he got his first paycheck, and none out of ten of them did, which I am sorry to say but they did, and back to alcoholism they were. What the answer is, if I knew that would solve the average Indian's problems in the urban area. When the Indian gets aggressive and gets with it he is able to do anything.[89]

Thus, testimony heard at the Urban Indian Hearings had several implications regarding Indian drinking patterns:

1. Most who commented about Indians and their drinking regarded the practice as a serious problem. Very few indicated in these public hearings that Indian drinking was desirable or advantageous.

2. Often, adjustment problems were cited as difficulties leading to the failure of Indians in the city, and these included disillusionment with city life; competition and the fast pace of life; the lack of strong incentives to remain in the city; inadequate instruction in city life; and the combination of large family with poor housing, inadequate job and school problems. Some witnesses spoke of Indian "characteristics" leading to failure in city life, and these were principally matters of motivation, identity and alienation.

3. Difficulties which were specifically linked by witnesses to drinking included family breakdown, disillusionment with the city, unemployment, lack of awareness of city services and facilities, inadequate education and/or vocational training, fear of institutions, alien daily living patterns, communications difficulties, unfair treatment by unscrupulous merchants, inadequate alternative outlets for emotional well-being, lack of institutional programs of alcohol prevention, the indifference of society to the Indian alcoholic's problems,

and simple discrimination. Attorneys pointed out that trouble with the law for Indians often seems to begin with drinking.

4. Self-help programs for Indians with drinking problems were urged as well as the institutional treatment of Indian alcoholics as a distinct ethnic group. Special suggestions for the Indian with a drinking problem included religion, self-confidence, and aggressiveness.

Health and Medical Care

A recurring difficulty with city life, according to some who appeared before the committee, was access to adequate medical care. It was apparent that some Indian people, who were accustomed to special Indian health services in rural and reservation areas, found it hard to utilize urban health care facilities geared to serve many populations. Others found urban medical care to be inaccessible or too costly. But the need and desire for proper health care were quite evident, as the following testimony indicates:

> THE CHAIRMAN: In your opinion, what are the health problems of junior high school children that you work with?
>
> MR. BOB CARR: There are all kinds of health problems, dental problems, visual problems, and hearing problems. It's amazing what you do find. The sad part of it is we never seem to have the time, or take the time, once we find out what the health problems are, to follow through to make sure they get the services. There are problems of stuttering. Now here we way, "Well, gee, that's too bad that he stutters like he does." But what do we do about it?[90]
>
> * * *
>
> The one thing we have a lot of in Oregon, I've talked with a lot of people there, especially the older people. They have continuous need of medicine, and have difficulty in getting aid through any organization, during long illnesses, because a lot of them don't have good insurance.[91]
>
> * * *
>
> You know, a lot of us came here not through the government, we came a long time ago. I've been here since about '48, and there's quite a few Indians in Fort Worth that came the same way. I was wondering if there was

some way they could get hospitalization through the government. You know, some of these people don't make enough to pay for hospitalization, it's so high, and now they don't make enough to have it taken out of their salary. Some of them have quite a few children and other expenses. Is there any program at all set up to help people who are away from, say Lawton, Oklahoma, and places like that where it's too far for them to go back for any hospitalization?[92]

* * *

...I deal with Indian children. Most Indian children I deal with have a health problem. We try to take programs such as basketball, Little League baseball, softball, for both boys and girls. We run into the problem that most of the kids need glasses, some of them have teeth that are bad, and we just don't have the kind of money to put out for these children.[93]

* * *

We need medical attention and medical assistance. People have long illnesses,; diabetics who need constant medication. This assistance has to continue, not only for one year after they leave the reservation. It has to last all the way through, at least until the person is self-sufficient.[94]

* * *

So I know today that most of you who are not terminated, if there is illness in the family and you need help, that you can go to the Indian hospital here in town but those who are terminated will have to go elsewhere.

So I call up people on the telephone, or I don't call them. They call today for information, mostly arthritics, and they want to know where they can go to a clinic. So I tell them there is one at St. Joe's Hospital, and there is one at Maricopa County Hospital. You can go there, but it must be a referral from your doctor. You will pay according to your means, according to your income.[95]

* * *

The health situation is not good. I know of one case where the lady was real ill and she went to the hospital

and the first thing they asked her was, "Do you have the money?" Well, she had ways of getting it the next day, but she needed medical attention that night and she didn't get it. I know that most children tend to get sick at night when the doctor's office is not open. I took my grandbaby once and the nurse at the station told me, "Well, you should have brought her during the doctor's office hours," but the baby doesn't know that you don't get sick when the doctor's office is closed. So, I'd like to see that, you know, and with everything that goes with it, the dental and eye care.[96]

* * *

[Regarding Public Health medical cards entitling the Indians to medical services] I'm a doctor in Oakland. I've been involved with the Indians in Oakland now for about three or four or five years...

We have handled Indians with all these cards in the office, and I'm going to give you exactly what occurs in the office or in the drugstore with all of these cards.

Now, the BIA allows a doctor half of the ordinary fee. Then I have to give the patient a receipt for half of my fee, if he is able to afford one-half of my fee... Then I order him over to the drugstore, for, ordinarily, pills, cough syrup, antibiotics, high blood pressure pills, pain pills, etc. He has to pay half of that fee over at the drugstore. He isn't able to afford half of that fee.

Further, he has to expend carfare on the bus in order to go back to the BIA in order to get his half all back to him.

The ordinary Indian receives from the BIA, for himself and a wife and three children, approximately $278 a month, of which he is going to have to pay $110 for a slum area apartment. Out of all of the rest if it, he needs the needs of food, health -- what else is there?

The ordinary Indian is not able to obtain the care he needs for his health, for himself or his wife or his kids. Ergo, we establish in the office a plan. If any Indian in our area is sick, he knows he will be able to come to me, and he will get everything that I know, all of his pills, all medications, all the antibiotics, all the cough syrups, etc., free of charge.[97]

* * *

...I, as the mother and head of a family, have problems where I'm employed and I have insurance, hospital insurance. I have five children in the home and especially over this flu period, it has been quite costly, because they haven't been sick enough to go into the hospital where the insurance can pick this up. Yet, I cannot afford to take off from my job and run them back to the Indian hospital at home. This is one thing, one child alone averaged $17 dollars for the first visit and the first visit had to be cash per child and the prescriptions, and whatever they had to have. With five children that runs into money and I don't make that kind of money. Another thing is this contracting doctors. Is there any way this could be brought down here for us? I know it's carried out elsewhere. I'm not eligible because of my salary for free care, and yet I don't make that much money, really, to cover these expenses. Another thing, Baylor is wonderful, and they will take you in and your children and we have been here long enough to where my children do need dental care, and yet I cannot run them home for free dental care. I cannot sit at Baylor for hours waiting for our appointment, for them to call us for our appointment. I'd have to take one child through the whole program at a time in order to fit them, in with my one day off per week. Something should be done, I mean, surely something can be done. Another thing, the doctors or wherever you may need medical care for the children, prefer that the mother be with the children. I can speak for a lot of mothers on this point, because we have discussed it many times. We faced it, had to, and where only the mothers can take in the child. Now, that's something, there should be a way out of that. We do need dental care and I'm not the only mother that has faced this problem. We've been here long enough, we've been here since 1963, and we did have dental care before we came here. That was arranged through our agency, Mr. Beames, head of the Anadarko agency when we left from there. We did have dental care -- we probably needed mental, but we did have dental.[98]

* * *

CHAIR: To my knowledge there are no health services available, other than through your county state health office. I think that you really need to know more about health services. One of the biggest questions asked has been concerning the lack of financing for health services to Indians in urban areas. There are no Federal funds specifically for this program. This is one of the reasons we are here, to find out what kind of services are needed or are not available. And your opinion, you feel that health services are needed by the low-income Indian families in this area. Is that what you mean?

MR. TAHMAHKERA: Yes, because in the city county hospitals, you go there and sometimes have a five or six hour wait. If you're very sick --. I thought if there was some special doctor to go to through the government, it would be a big benefit for them to get this health service. There's a lot if Indians that came here on their own. It looks like there would be some way that we could try to help them through health benefits. Also on their housing, you know they can't save enough to make a down payment on a home. If they let them rent a house for so long and have this for a down payment, it would be a big benefit to them. They would feel like they were working for something instead of just spending their money out of their pockets every month and not getting anything out of it.[99]

Some of those who appeared before the Committee revealed resentments about the quality of medical care provided especially for Indians. Testimony from two San Francisco witnesses indicates the nature of these feelings:

> We buried my seventeen year-old cousin in January because an HEW doctor put a cast on a gunshot wound. Seventeen years old and he died of an infection. In this day and age, you do not die from infections any more. He was seventeen years old, and when we tried to sue that doctor for malpractice they told us we couldn't. HEW protects their doctors from the Indian people. They slaughter us. They protect them... Indian people are being killed, slaughtered, in those hospitals. You've all had relatives who died in them.[100]

* * *

> I went back on the reservation two weeks ago. I traveled from one end of the reservation to the other. This is the Navajo reservation, and one of the biggest ones. I went into Tuba City hospital, and there was a big sign, "Accreditation, 1968, Public Health Service for Service Rendered." Yet, I see about thirteen Navajo Indians sitting there. I sat there for one hour, and I talked to each one of them, and you can't even find a doctor in the hospital.. I went behind the curtains there. I see some patients sitting there. They're in pain. Yet, they have this big accreditation. This was Saturday afternoon. Everybody was in Flagstaff or Winslow. It's about fifty or sixty miles away. This is the the kind of thing the Public Health Service has brought to us.[101]

Perhaps because of such reputed inadequacies in medical care or because of inter-cultural difficulties, there were indications that Indians are sometimes reluctant to use medical facilities. One Indian woman in Phoenix had this to say:

> Indians are a little bit apprehensive about coming to our hospital because they are a little bit afraid of the treatment, the care. They know the conditions are well worn.[102]

* * *

> And then our patients, and I am sure that any Indian here would back me in saying that an Indian does not go to the hospital unless they're really sick. Half of the time they are dying before they come.[103]

Finally, a recently-retired Indian physician had words of encouragement for Indian young people with professional aspirations:

> I'm Dr. Tom White Cloud, Chippewa. I have correspondence from Washington, and they're looking for medical students. And I can assure you that the profession is looking for raw meat to run through their grinder, and if you think you're man enough, why, take a shot at it. There's no reason why an Indian can't go on through medicine. There are a number of Indian doctors, and most of them have gone through on their own. But the Indian Service was kind enough to loan me some money, an Indian

> group in Massachusetts loaned me some money, and I got through, and I have a son who is a physician, and I brought him through on my own.
>
> But the profession is looking for people to go into medicine. It doesn't make any difference what color he is, a doctor is a doctor, and the public will accept you as a physician on your own merits. If you're a poor physician, that will change it. But they're not going to not go to you simply because you're white, black, pink, purple, or whatever, as long as you know what you're doing.
>
> I have just retired, and I have never had any prejudice as far as being an Indian. Now, I have been a bastard many a time, but no one has ever called me an old Indian bastard.[104]

In sum, then, health and medical care were matters of much concern to city Indians who spoke before the Committee. Various witnesses commented about numerous health problems, including:

1. Inadequate means for follow-up of treatment of the health problems of Indian high school students.

2. Poor medical care for older Indian citizens, who seldom have health care insurance.

3. Lack of federal medical services for urban Indians, many of whom cannot afford health insurance.

4. Dental and vision problems of Indian children in recreation programs with no resources for correction.

5. Need for a longer period of medical care for "relocated" Indian families.

6. Insufficient hospital facilities for poor Indian families in the city and inadequate BIA medical "cards".

7. Cynicism and despair about the reputed low quality of health care in reservation Indian hospitals.

8. Reluctance of some Indians to seek medical care.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs

Inevitably, the Bureau of Indian Affairs received much attention from Indian people at the urban hearings. The full range of ambivalent feelings - from rage directed toward this symbol of white colonialism to fears that Bureau support might be lost through termination -- were expressed. An observer could wonder if an institution so linked with enculturated attitudes of hostility, distrust and dependence could appreciably improve its performance.

There were some who expressed attitudes of general hostility to the Bureau, while others were concerned about the "stigma" of the BIA, as the following excerpts show:

> The Bureau controls telling people what's going to happen to them, what are their rights. In California, they were terminating people just as fast as they could terminate them, and they never told them what termination was about and what the consequences were. It wasn't until we came along and published a booklet about termination that the Indians had really any substantial idea of what it was all about.[105]

* * *

> I think Mr. Walters pointed out a very big problem of relocation. In fact, I go beyond that and question the whole assistance of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Up until the last Commissioner the Bureau was not run by Indians, and still it does not meet the Indian needs. I am sure you are aware that is probably the most dirty word you can use on any rural reservation. The Indian leaders have had to work with the BIA and they haven't done anything about their problems. The people are certainly fed up with it. Even if the BIA could not be put out of existence, we question the existence of it under the Department of the Interior. It seems pretty irrelevant when the Department of the Interior deals with wild life, and that is certainly the attitude they have taken in many cases.[106]

* * *

Personally, I feel we are going to inevitably come to a minimum guaranteed annual wage. This is the only choice for America, I think, and it has many, many good payoffs. One of them, of course -- and I apologize to the gentleman who spoke earlier -- is to get rid of the wardens, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the various social welfare agencies who manage, spy upon, and take care of their so-called clients. It seems to me this kind of dependency relationship is unhealthy. The only way to get rid of it is the guaranteed minimum wage. I think that is what we've got to come to.[107]

* * *

[Regarding expenditures of BIA funds] I'll venture to say that 95% of it is going into the bureaucrats' hands, and into the merchants, in the vicinity of the reservation. It is not going into the economy of the Indian population on the reservation.[108]

* * *

...I'd kind of like to get the stigma of BIA off my back. For instance, I went to Parkland Hospital. My husband carries enough insurance for me, but we have a son who is twenty-three years old and he's going to cosmetology school. He didn't have money to see a doctor. Well, they said you just couldn't come in and see a doctor. When we got there, the first thing they said was "Why don't you go ask the BIA?" Everywhere I go this is what comes up. I would like for it to be advertised that the BIA do doesn't help all the Indians. We are just as qualified as non-whites to accept services when we need it, not to just stand there for a hand-out. I would like for it to be known that not every Indian gets BIA assistance.[109]

* * *

If you are an Indian, people think you can receive all the services from BIA... As a citizen, you should receive the services from that institution, anyway. This is a very hard thing to get across to non-Indians sometimes and, particularly, to institutions that ought to know better. Of course, this is one of the reasons we're having hearings like this, because the BIA does not have the facilities here. You are citizens of this

community and the community has a responsibility and are getting Federal funds for services. This should be understood, you should not be referred to the BIA. You are a citizen of this community, this state and to the BIA. You are a citizen of this community, this state and nation, you are not owned by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. You don't belong solely to them, you are a citizen. This is a very, very hard problem, and hopefully, by these hearings we're awakening communities and other Federal agencies to this fact. I know your frustration, I've experienced the same thing myself. I have heard this same kind of thing said many, many times. This is one of the reasons I took this particular task. I think we must dramatize it to the extent that people really realize you are a citizen of this town. This is where the responsibility is in this state and you are, of course, first of all, a citizen of the United States. We have to break down this concept of the "Bureau" Indian, and it's the hardest thing to do. It's a re-education program. You know, it's not the Indians' problem, it's the community's problem, they lack knowledge on these specific things and they should be informed.[110]

* * *

You have to be in a certain money bracket for your child to qualify to go to any of the Indian schools or you have to live on restricted land. If you get off of them and start working on your own, you're under the white man's way of living. Whenever you go over there, the white man says, "Go to the BIA." You're governed by two people, you see. Just like today, when I asked to get off of work, my supervisor said,"What do you want off work for?" I just said, "I want to go to my other part of the government and explain these things to him." I said, "I have to live under two of these governments, and one bounces back to the other, see."[111]

* * *

I have no quarrel with the administrators of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. I think it is the policy they are following. It's straight-laced. They do not vary to one side or the other. They are not flexible enough to meet the situation as it exists. They are not moving in one way. I think they should become more flexible. I think they should be able to say, "We can't do this

because we are not supposed to, but we will give here and we will give there," and take care of the immediate needs. Now, I think this should be done.[112]

* * *

Everything that the Indian wants and needs, if he asks the BIA, he is told to go and seek this service from some other organization -- either the state or the county. When you go, and talk to the county about aid, they say, "What reservation are you from? You can get help through the Indian agencies." They pass you back and forth, and this is wrong.

For this reason, I think the laws that govern the BIA have to be changed to help the Indian get off the reservation and stay off. The only existing laws which govern the BIA were made one hundred fifty years ago and were instituted to keep the Indian on the reservation. There were no provisions made for the Indian to leave the reservation. No state agencies helped the Indian after he was off the reservation, especially if the Indian has no education or no job training.[113]

* * *

A rather lengthy account of BIA mistreatment of urban Indians from a San Francisco militant is inclosed as an example of the articulate indictment of the Bureau having much currency among Indian people both for its political style and for its particularistic references.

> If you're going to hear a mouthful, you might as well hear the whole works, Don't go away with half of it.
>
> The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Bennett, came out here last year, and while he was here, we were telling him some of the problems. This is getting to be old hat, people coming out here and making surveys, as I said earlier, and they take them back to Washington, D.C., and they store them. They've got a big building back there and they put all these findings in, and they do nothing but draw moths and so forth, because they never use them. It gives them a chance to make another survey.
>
> We told him about the conditions that existed over in Oakland, about two boarding houses. One man over there owned a boarding house and he had homosexuals running

it for our young boys, and he had some dykes, or female homosexuals running it for the women.

We told Bennett about this, and it's part of the Congressional Record. He didn't do a thing about it. The homes are still run by the same person. The are taking our young kids right off the reservation and putting them into boarding schools where they've got homosexuals running them, and they are coming in contact with people like this for the first time, and nothing is done about it.

We've told them about countless cases of this, and nothing is ever done.

They take our kids, and they don't give them enough money to live in adequate quarters, and they have to go into the ghetto. They have to move into the low rent sections just to make a living, or just to make expenses, rather. These kids don't have enough money for recreation. A lot of them turn to alcohol, not because they want alcohol, but for want of finding company.

They go to the Indian center for a dance, and maybe some of their freinds are old enough to drink, and they're not. They go into some of these bars just for company, and a lot of them get hooked on alcohol this way.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs doesn't set up any recreation for them. In fact, there is a total lack of counseling here. I was reading an article which came out in the Saturday Review, which mentioned they had 609 students to one counselor in theBureau of Indian Affairs school system.

They had a young Indian girl who committed suicide just recently, which Denis Turner told you about uesterday. She tried to see her counselor on countless occasions and couldn't. She had a definite problem, and she couldn't see her counselor. And she committed suicide by drowning in a bathtub. If she could have seen her counselor maybe we could have prevented this. That girl might be living today. But the Bureau of Indian Affairs doesn't have enough money, it seems, to provide counselors for these kids.

My wife is about the best example of what happens to somebody. My wife is a Sioux Indian from the Rosebud

Reservation in South Dakota. She came out here on relocation, and they were going to train her to be a dental assistant. They put her in a two year course, and drug her out after six months, and decided she had had enough training. They couldn't get her a job.

She went over to the Bureau office and sat in that office from 8:00 in the morning to 5:30, or whenever they close, all day long for about two or three weeks. A young girl, eighteen years old, first time away from home. In a big city like this she didn't know what to do, so she sat on those benches and warmed them for about two weeks.

Finally, they got her a job over in Sausilito working in a laundry, pressing clothes all day long. After pressing clothes for a week she finally got discouraged and she wanted to go home. And the Bureau wouldn't send her home.

She wrote her parents, and they didn't have enough money to get her home. She went back to the Bureau again, and they said they would get her a job, so they got her a job as a scrubwoman for one day. She got blisters all over her hands scrubbing floors out there in the Mission district.

She went back to the Bureau and told them she wanted to go home, and they finally got her a job two weeks later, after she warmed the benches some more.

They flood our agency offices in here with kids, and they don't have adequate connseling for them. The don't have enough people there on the staff to take care of them. This is something that has got to be stopped.

One of the most glaring examples: about six months ago we threw a picket line, the United Native Americans, against poverty program, because they were denying Indians jobs, and one of the young girls that was picketing with us one day, we brought some food for them, and she took a couple of extra sandwiches and stuffed them in her pockets.

I noticed her and asked her if she would like to come over and have dinner with my wife and I that night. My wife said she knew her, she was from the same reservation. We talked to her. The young girl came out to visit her sister, who was separated from her husband. She lived with them for about two months; was babysitting for her. She had only gone through the tenth grade.

The next day, after we found out her problem -- she didn't even have a change of clothes. The next day we took her down to the Red Corss -- not the Red Cross. but the Intertribal Friendship House there, and they gave her two or three sets of clothing.

After this, we called the Bureau of Indian Affairs up and we told them that this young girl had only gone through the tenth grade. She was sixteen years -- or seventeen years old, I guess it was. She had, I think it was ten cents in her pocket. Relocation.

The relocation officer said, "Write to Rosebud, South Dakota, ahd have your relocation officer send you an application blank. When it comes back, you fill it out, send it back to Rosebud. They will in turn make sure you're registered there; then he will make sure you fill all the qualifications; then he will send it over to Aberdeen, South Dakota. At Aberdeen, South Dakota, they will review it again, and if you fill all the qualifications, they will notify you next year that you can go on relocation."

This is a young Indian girl who is living with some guy just for a place to stay, and that beautiful old colonial office, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, they did nothing. They tried to waste another life.

This is going on and on and on, and we tell these problems over and over. I'm sure that there are many people in here who have heard these same things. A lot of you non-Indians probably haven't heard them. But the Bureau brings these kids in.

There's a business college down here, Munson's Business College. They have had two Indians graduate from there in the last five years who have managed to find employment as draftsmen, out of five years. The teachers aren't accredited with the state.

I was just talking to a young woman sitting back here. She's in the employment field. She tells me that they are training our young kids in these vocational courses such as welding. They don't teach them how to read blueprints; they don't teach them heliarc welding, arc welding; and when they get out of these schools they've got a vocational training course that's not equal to a good high school vocational training course, and they can't get jobs

because these schools are not accredited with the state. Even the teachers are not accredited. They don't have licenses.

They are flooding the market with these young kids who cannot find jobs because they come from vocational schools that are not state accredited, and they are winding up right on the streets.

The relocation problem has -- I forgot the exact rating of the cropouts, but it's way over 50%. And when they go home, they go home and they live for a little while. They get a little taste of life and they want to come back; they have to come back on their own.

Two weeks ago we have a young Navajo girl who came to United Native Americans and asked if we would help her get into the University of California, and we did. She's now a student, starting this quarter.

Her husband had been put in a vocational training course, sheet metal. Anyway, the jerk came out of this course after about -- it was a nine month course, or something life this, and the jerk came out after six months and told him that they didn't have enough money to finish his training.

They jerked him out and got him some little job doing some menial tasks, making about a dollar-fifty an hour. He worked at that for a week and then he quit and got himself another job making about three dollars an hour.

He then enrolled himself in a vocational training school where he can learn sheet metal work on his own.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs is a tremendous failure. It's like a cancer that is eating away at our people, and something is going to have to be done other than tell people who come out here to survey us, and we're not sure they're even going to do anything.[114]

The BIA "relocation" (or employment assistance) program is intended to move into a number of specified urban centers those rural Indian individuals and families who elect to do so. The program maintains these persons while job training is underway. Predictably, it was the target of much criticism by Indian witnesses:

I think most of you are acquainted with a government agency called BIA. It's connected with the Department of the Interior. In the Los Angeles area, they have a program called the relocation program. If anyone called there, they would hear nothing but success stories of relocation, counseling, and job placement. They claim almost 80% success. If there is success, come with me to the Ritz, the Columbine, Jake's, the Shrimp Boat, Moulin Rouge, Tom's, P and M's, the Irish Pub, 16th and Main, better yet down to East Main, and watch our young maidens hustle. Right away someone pops up and says, "That's a small number of Indians that don't care; you can't help them."

Well, three of these places hold over 600 people and three nights of the week you couldn't push your way in with a bulldozer. I'm talking about young people. 115

* * *

As I moved around the area reservations, the one problem which came up most frequently was that of relocating, and as I listened to these people talk to me, it was very apparent that there was absolutely no screening, or very little screening. As a matter of fact, it was more of a numbers racket, and I would imagine that a good many of you people who are here today are nothing but a statistic to the Bureau of Indian Affairs on their relocation program.

They got you out of the reservation. They had not provided industrial outlest on the reservation to the extent that they could. Instead they are shifting the burden from the reservation to the urban areas. And what happens to the Indian, to some Indians, to a good many of them, when they get into the urban situation? They're out of their cultural environment and they do not adjust.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs disclaims any responsibility whatsoever for the repatriation of that Indian back to the reservation. They are through with him. If he wants to go back to Standing Rock, Pine Ridge, wherever it might be, he's going to have to walk, hitchhike, or ride the rods.

I worked in San Francisco, commuted across the Bay Bridge for almost twenty years, and I parked on 5th Street, worked up the street here just two or three blocks, in the flood building on Market, and at least two or three times a week, I was put the touch on by some poor Indian. They were not able to make the transition from the reservation culture to an urban culture. Here they are, broke, no place to go, so they wind up either in the city prison, I would imagine, or on welfare.

Now, is this progress for the Indian people? Actually, the Bureau of Indian Affairs carries your relocatees on its rolls as a statistic to get more money out of Congress.[116]

* * *

CHAIRMAN: Is there enough money and services available for people coming in on relocation?

MR. PETERS: No, there isn't. I know, I have a family. I have six children of my own, and I know it is inadequate really.

MR. JOURDAIN: How long have you been here, Mr. Peters?

MR. PETERS: I came out in 57. Then I went home for two years because I couldn't take it out. It was worse back there, after living here, so I came back again.

CHAIRMAN: That is a very familiar story. I have had that happen in my own family.

MR. PETERS: I got tired of holding the land for my wife to chop wood.[117]

* * *

A lot of these guys during the time that they get relocated here, they're new, you know. Well, I believe they get a little bit of money to pay their rent, buy food, and go to work back and forth. They don't get enough but -- so they get a part-time job and maybe earn ten or fifteen dollars. Then they're getting maybe thirty-five dollars from the BIA, deduct that fifteen dollars that he made, so he's still in the hole. He's not getting ahead...He gets a part-time job while they're trying to find him a good job, supposedly. Then

whatever little part-time he earns, I think they deduct all this, whatever they give him to get going. I think I heard several people say that.[118] (Dallas, p. 95, Joe Tafoya)

* * *

Going to people's homes, a lot of other complaints is about furniture that the BIA buys them. Most of it came out of St. Vincent de Paul. It seems to me when they are going to do something like that, especially when there are so many Indians coming into Los Angeles, they should get a contract to get new stuff wholesale or something.

Another thing, about the BIA propaganda, and it is propaganda. Some of the people that come out here on relocation, this came out of the paper, thought they would get them jobs paying three dollars an hour. When I came out here I was making $1.54 to start. Of course that was thirteen years ago. From visiting families and ones that I have helped, they make an average of about $85 a week. Of course, some of these people that came out of school, instead of putting them in as auto mechanics, they put them in a filling station or something.

Another thing that I don't like is the age limit in the schooling. After age 35 are you too old to learn or what? Because there are a lot of us that haven't had any schooling whatsoever, I mean as far as trades.

When I came out here, I was told back home by BIA there were a lot of dental technician schools. I had one year finished and two years to go. I got here, and they put me in aircraft. Another person came out, he is a cement finisher, and he needed money to get into the union. He couldn't get the money anyplace, so they put him in a bakery. I don't know.

On this housing where they give you a thousand dollars to make a down payment on the home, that's all good and fine, but why is there a limit set on that too? If you are here over five years you don't qualify for it. I think the people that are sticking here, hanging on to their jobs, should be considered too. It's pretty hard to save money to make a down payment on a home. It takes five years to establish your credit.

On this welfare bit, we have taken children that were going to be taken away from their parents because they went down and asked for welfare. Instead of helping them they want to take the kids. That happened three times. We took the kids in until the people got jobs and got straightened out again. I also have had calls from people who wanted to adopt Indian kids. I don't know, maybe there is a racket going on. I wish they would want some of us. I'd like to have somebody adopt me.[119]

* * *

About the war on poverty, I don't think BIA bringing them, relocating the Indians, aren't letting them know, there are other agencies available.[120] (Dallas, p. 91, Joe Tafoya)

* * *

I kind of hate to make this comparison, but I think the Bureau of Indian Affairs has played its part in this way, they have brought our people out to the Los Angeles area. They are there to provide the education. They have done so. But where I feel they have failed, is to give them that extra hand, the understanding our people really need.[124]

* * *

As a publisher I get a lot of information, and I gather this information, correlate it, and finally decide what to publish. I meet with a lot of people, and more recently I have talked to many students, BIA students in particular. My son is on the program, and I was against it, but he felt independent and he went back to the reservation. He had to go back to the reservation to get on the program, he stayed for thirty days and came back out.

He is on the program, and I get a lot of information from him and his buddies.

One of our staff members and I made a study, asked questions and they were startled. I think when the student comes from a reservation or any other area to the urban area, naturally he is going to be exposed to all the other problems the other students are exposed to.

What I mean is, like drinking, dope, prostitution, and other unfavorable aspects. I think something should be done. I think somebody, specialists, should be appointed to talk to these students.

When we asked them if they had any counseling they said, "Yes, but we don't go." We said "why?" They said, "We go to the office and have to wait three hours to a whole day."

I don't think they have any confidence in the people dealing with them. They also mentioned a lot of things, they are browbeaten, or it seems the people don't care.[122]

Responses to some of these criticisms came in Dallas and Los Angeles, where BIA representatives appeared.

On broken promises:

CHAIR: You commended earlier about over-zealousness, over-selling prospects of coming here. Do you think there could be a better coordination of efforts from your end with the other end?

MR. BEAMES: We made numerous efforts to properly inform an agency personnel on what is available in Dallas. We do not attempt to oversell Dallas. I am sure we have individuals in our program at various places who may, in their efforts to assist the family, tell them about the good things that can happen. What are the options and point out some of the bad things that can happen. I wouldn't doubt but what some of them get a false picture of what Dallas or any other Field Employment Assistance Office can offer. I think it's -- communications, again, is a problem. The guy may not intend to oversell this, but the guy listening, he, may look at all the good things and the best that can happen, and it may not happen. Some come there and I think probably find it was better for them than they anticipated. It varies with the individual.[123]

* * *

MR. MAHONEY: I don't think there is one of the agency men all over the country I don't know personally.

We do find a great variation in the quality, in the counseling and guidance they give these people in preparing them as individuals.

A good many of our staffs at the agency levels do lay it right on the line. They say, "Look, it is not going to be easy. It is going to be rough. It is going to be tough. It is going to depend on you and what you put forth. It will take a lot of intestinal fortitude to do it."

Now, we get alot of this. On the other hand, we undoubtedly have a lot of people out there also anxious to do a selling job, and undoubtedly they do give snow jobs. They paint it all as a big rosy picture. "Here is the pie in the sky. You go for it, and you can do it."

Now, this can be interpr-ted as encouragement or it can be interpreted as a snow job. Oftentimes, if the individual has made up his mind he's going to go, they are not doing an awful lot of listening about what anybody is telling them.

They're cousin Susie is in Los Angeles and she's doing good. "She wrote me a letter and I want to go."

You would be surprised at the number of telephone calls we get saying, "I don't want to wait until next week or next month. I want to come right now. If I don't come right now under the program, I am going to go on my own.

They don't listen to what is told them back there. It all goes in one ear and out the other, because they hear only what they want to hear.

There is, I am sure, a great flexibility in what is given. It could be improved upon.

I personally feel the counseling at the agency level should be strengthened possibly by review groups as to the people coming and those getting an opportunity to come.

On subsistence:

> As far as subsistence grants are concerned, our subsistence grants there actually applies to our relocatees and trainees, I believe, in similar amounts. This is a monthly subsistence grant, and we generally break this down into weekly or bi-weekly rates. On the monthly basis we can assist a single individual up to $175 a month for subsistence. A family head plus one, $235 a month. This graduates -- I'll just skip around here and hit, say, a family head plus five, that would be six in the family, $365 a month. When we get up to a family head plus nine or more, the subsistence is $435 per month. We now have and have had since the last fiscal year a large family program, where when the individual's earning capability is not enough to meet his needs, we are able to supplement his income over a period of time, until he can gradually bring his skills up to a level where he can meet what his financial needs are. This, hopefully, is a gradual withdrawal program where, as he earns, we will give less and less.[125]

On orientation to community services:

> Well not on a regular basis, no, because many of these things-the normal individual we serve doesn't need, for instance, some of these. We may refer only one person a year. There are many regular facilities where we do orientate people about hospital services, school facilities, employment, Texas State Employment Service, things of this nature, but many of these are individual things. Most families or individuals never had a need for it, but we do use them on an individual basis. Those come up quite often are incorporated into our orientation program.[126]

On adequacy of counseling:

> This is an area where we need training, we need staff with higher technical backgrounds. I think the people we have, are doing a fairly good job in most cases. There are times when we are dealing with people who have problems that our staff -- they may actually need some psychiatric assistance or things of this nature. We do not have that capability on our staff. We do occasionally refer out applications to such services in the community.[127]

On deduction of part-time earnings:

MR. HARGIS: If an individual while waiting for placement during that month period of time has a part-time job, are part-time job earnings deducted from the subsistence?

MR. BEAMES: No. Actually, we encourage many of our people who while they're in training, to take part-time jobs. Now, one thing, if this begins to interfere with their training, then we require them to quit. We do ask them, while they're in training and on a part-time job, that they will deposit in a bank in a savings account their earnings other than $15 per week., but the rest of them, we want them to save for a rainy day or to buy a car with, eventually, when they complete training, or a TV set or a washing machine. But we don't go and deduct from their subsistence.

MR. HARGIS: So, part-time job income does not affect in any way, the amount of subsistence they get from you?

MR. BEAMES: This is not normally a factor. There may be some isolated cases where an individual income on a part-time job may be high enough that it is a factor; I don't recall any instances coming to my attention. Let me ask if anyone on my staff knows of any exceptions to that statement I just made. Please correct me if you know of anything.

MRS. IRENE DAY: I think there would be a possibility that could arise of somebody -- say, it was a second or third or fourth placement for this person. Financial funds are real limited and in order to plan successfully with an individual, their earnings, what we could assist with, would all be considered, but this would not be a normal procedure. 128

On housing:

We do take applications only from reservation areas or former reservation areas such as Oklahoma. In other words, our staff in the Indian country prepares an application, they counsel with the individual Indian or he and his family, and tell them of the services available, and I'm sorry if they're leading people to believe the streets of Dallas are paved with gold; they are not, but there is opportunity here. I

believe many people have found very fine opportunities here and other offices similar to ours. We can only help the individual who's willing to help himself. We sometimes see people go back home, because they have not applied abilities they have, either in training or on the job. Sometimes they go back, because they are homesick, or for various reasons...Our employers are very glad to get our Indian people. We do not have any inkling of racial prejudice as far as American Indians are concerned. We do not have problems in finding housing as far as -- the problem is their ability to pay the rent. Honestly, at the beginning level, the housing, there's not enough of it available. They are building apartments like mad throughout Dallas and For Worth and everywhere else I go, but they are for people at a moderate or high level income. Many of our Indian families cannot afford that kind of rent, so we do have problems in getting them into houses like we would like to have them in. But it is better, for the most part, than what most of them had back where they came from. We work at this very hard in trying to upgrade our housing, but, again, lack of financial capabilities restrict the type of housing they can move into.

On the appropriateness of training and success of job placement:

MR. MAHONEY: As director of the office, the overall responsibility for the functioning of the program is largely mine. Mrs. Willis, who is my deptuty director, is directly responsible for the day to day operations of programming.

We are responsible, by and large for administering two programs. One is referred to as Direct Employment. This is the Indian person that applies back on the reservation for employment services but not for schooling services.

He's assisted, as he comes in, for suitable housing. He's covered with medical benefits until he's on the job, and is covered under the program where he may be working.

We are expending roughly a hundred thousand dollars a year for medical benefits. This is almost full medical coverage for those in their initial adjustment until they are covered under plans with their work.

For those that are going to school, it covers them for the full period of their training, up to a maximum of two full years if their training is that long, and thirty days thereafter, to give them an opportunity to get on to a job.

Now, the other program we are responsible for administering is Public Law 959, which has to do with adult vocational training. Within this program of adult vocational training, we have a staff of professional guidance counselors, who assist the individuals in selecting the type of training they are interested in.

Initially, the type of training is selected at the reservation level, before they come here, the type of training and the type of school they want to go to.

As they come in to enter school, depending on the date, they take their turn with others in terms of the availability of funds to meet these needs.

As the individual comes in, he's assisted in locating suitable housing, boarding houses oftentimes for singles, homes for a larger family, or smaller apartments for smaller families, as near as we can get them to the place they are to receive their training.

As I mentioned, back at the reservation level, with their counselor, the individual selects the type of training he is interested in.

We find after they arrive and are enrolled in school, within the first ninety days, twenty percent of these students will change their selected training objective.

CHARIMAN: How do you account for that?

MR. MAHONEY: Oftentimes we find the individual back at the agency didn't know what they were getting into. They were thinking of names but they were not familiar with the details of what would be involved in their training.

We had individuals come in and state that they wanted a certain type of training, and I'll use auto mechanic for example. As he got into it, he found he had five thumbs.

On the recommendation of the instructor from the school, this individual just did not seem to be able to go forward in his particular field of training. He would sit down with his training counselor, take various types of tests given, go on tours of a number of other schools, and eventually select another type of training opportunity.[130]

* * *

It also has been my experience that the individual coming into the community, usually the first year, will change jobs one to three times. We find if he stayed for the second year, he pretty well establishes himself and a job. He usually will stay with it. After the second year, you usually will not find loss of jobs, but the man has steadied down, and follows through with this employment. Many of them go up to foreman's position or other positions, and establish themselves well in the community.

I would say we probably find as many as five jobs for every individual that comes through the first two years before he eventually settles down.[131]

* * *

Certainly, the hearings suggested that many Indian people perceive the Bureau of Indian Affairs to be a central difficulty in their lives. While some Indian witnesses thought that the Bureau should be replaced - perhaps with a guaranteed income plan - most were intent upon reform. Specific objectives and recommendations for change included:

1. Indians do not understand the BIA and need more information about it.
2. The BIA has been ineffectual and it perpetuates an unhealthy dependency relationship.
3. BIA funds do not improve the community of the reservations, benefitting instead bureaucrats and border town merchants.
4. Non-Indians need to be re-educated to understand that BIA services are limited and that urban Indians are eligible for the same benefits and services as are non-Indians.
5. The Bureau's assistance is not effective largely because of inflexible rules.
6. The Bureau's employment assistance program is unsuccessful despite BIA claims of success. It results in shifting the burden from reservations to city, where the culture is inhospitable and where the Bureau declines responsibility.

7. Employment assistance support and services are independent. Furniture purchases by the BIA for those relocated is of poor quality. BIA promises of jobs and income are misleading, and the Bureau does not inform relocated Indians about the services of urban agencies.

8. BIA students need counseling in the city, but seldom find satisfying counselors at the Bureau.

9. Bureau representatives maintain that BIA "overselling" was mostly due to poor communications. Also, they noted, many individuals decide to go to the city independently of counseling.

10. BIA personnel indicated that orientation to community resources was on a need basis. They also indicated that up-grading of counseling personnel would be desirable, and that the Bureau does not have such capabilities as psychiatric counseling.

11. Bureau personnel indicated that only in rare cases are earnings from part-time jobs deducted from the subsistence allowance granted relocatees.

12. BIA representatives observed that Indians coming to the city for adult vocational traning not infrequently change their training objectives. Similarly, Indians relocated for direct employment often change jobs during the first year.

Problems With the Law

Difficulties with legal problems and law enforcement frequently were mentioned. Descriptions of the state of affairs between urban Indians and the legal system ranges from evidence of much violence to unfair law enforcement to the notion that Indian drinking - often the cause for arrest - is symptomatic of cultural conflict. The following quotations are illustrative:

> Does Madam Chairman know about the stabbings? We've had about ten stabbings down in the area within the last three or four months. [132]

* * *

> Law and order. This is a very touchy subject. We find much concern on the part of the Indian community with the police department. There are complaints of police harrassment. They told you of the patrol necessary up and down Franklin Avenue. We look a little deeper than that and say why is this necessary? We find alcohol is a big problem to the American Indian people. This is a big problem. In fact, many of our problems stem from this. You look at alcohol and say, why is it such a problem? Actually, it's only a symptom of something else. What is it a symptom of? It looks like a symptom of cultural conflicts. American Indians have cultural values quite different from those being imposed on us. Nobody ever stopped to think of this before. This is something that is real and is coming to the foreground. We are beginning to look at it. [133]

* * *

> We had a director who went down the street one time and asked the cop to give his number. You know what they did; they grabbed both him and his wife and threw them both in jail. They were trying to help. That's the grown-up adult you are talking about. What can they do? They are Indian. [134]

We were invited to talk to the mayor of San Francisco about this. We did. He appointed a gentleman on the Human Rights Commission -- not the person we elected to represent us on that Human Rights Commission, but someone else. Nothing has been done about 16th Street.

Look, Gerald has been arrested three times within the last month. And this isn't just Gerald, this is all of those kids down there, and all of our young men. You take a couple of girls, they could be arrested for being prostitutes, and all they are doing is standing. [135]

* * *

MEMBER OF THE AUDIENCE: Are there any Indian men on the San Francisco Police Department?

MR. JONES: Not that we know of.

MEMBER OF THE AUDIENCE: Well, in the San Jose area there are some, and on special occasions, you know, around the Indian center, we always notify the police department, and the department usually puts an Indian policemen on the job.

MR. JONES: At SF State they do the same thing. They send black policemen out there where there're black students out there.

MEMBER OF THE AUDIENCE: And this always alleviates, you know, conditions and --

MR. LIVERMORE: We're presently trying to recruit Indian people. I brought one down. He has taken the examination, and he has very good qualifications. As far as talents he has a commercial pilot's license, and I think that hopefully he will be on the force. [136]

* * *

And then I had my sister down there (Sixteenth Street) one time. I have a sister that has a drinking problem. She was down there when this guy get stabbed, and she went over and she helped the guy, picked him up off the street. She had blood all over her. So the cops came over. My sister is real quiet. The

cops asked what happened and she couldn't say anything, so they grabbed her, they threw her in jail, and they accused her of the stabbing.

MISS JUSTICE: She was up for attempted murder.

MR. JONES: Yes, and all she did was pick the guy up. We didn't know anything or we'd a got her out. They picked up her and this other guy who had nothing to do with it. I guess it was about two days later before they picked up the other guy who did it. They had to drop all the charges; they had nothing on her. But she was there. They picked her up. [137]

* * *

Indians, we find, are not getting the proper type of justice in the courts. Most of them have to rely on the public defender to defend them, and the public defender comes from the same community which, by and large, is hostile to the American Indian. So how can we expect any kind of justice in the courts, and how often have you ever heard of an Indian being acquitted of a felony? That is something to think about. [138]

* * *

Some witnesses indicate that the Indian arrest record is disproportionately high because Indians do not know how to protect their rights:

> In some of the testimony from other metropolitan areas, we found in arrest records, the percentage compared to the general population was so much higher than in the rest of the community with the Indian population, and like you say, they come from the reservation and they're just not knowledgeable of what their rights are and don't know how to protect their rights. [139]

* * *

> They're aware of legal services, but when you get on the legal service, you wait forever. Some of them will give up, go back, and receive the same punishment before it's brought to court. [140]

* * *

CHAIRMAN: I would like to take this opportunity because of your profession, to ask you about the convictions of Indians. Are there more convictions of Indian people on misdemeanors than the average citizen in the Los Angeles area, in your opinion?

MR. WAPATO: Well, I feel at this time for the record, I must indicate that I am here as a representative of the Indian Welcome House. Any other statements would be opinions of mine.

CHAIRMAN: Personal opinion, yes.

MR. WAPATO: Personal opinion.

The conviction of Indians for misdemeanor crimes is probably higher than for others.

When I say, "others," for white people. This would be, I believe, the mere fact that Indians are more apt to plead guilty rather than raise any fuss.

When they get to court -- they just put in a plea of guilty and get it over with. I don't have any figures of those that go to court or might be represented by private counsel.

Anybody arrested would have counsel, either private or appointed public defender.

CHAIRMAN: You think that is a culture characteristic? Not, say, more than any other ethnic group? I mean that --

MR. WAPATO: Yes, I think, through the years the Indian person in this situation probably has developed the attitude of what's the use so they'll go ahead along this line. [141]

* * *

Several witnesses noted the special problems of Indian inmates and suggested ways to combat the high failure rate of Indian parolees:

Invariably, you could find the Indians out in the "jungle"--and this is what they call the main yard at San Quentin -- you'd find them out at the "Indian wall." Any time you wanted to find an Indian out there, you just go to the "wall," and there you found the guys hanging out in clusters, just a constant problem to the authorities; a nuisance to other inmates. Many of them were on close or maximum security.

The counselors couldn't get through to them; the psychiatrists, or anybody involved with them. These guys said, "What the hell's the use," you know. Even our free people have a tough time. The unemployment rate in California on a reservation level is 40%. We have the lowest educational attainment of any ethnic group in the state of California, and to top it off, we have a felony rap against us when we go out into the free society.

If the free Indian has got all these problems, what the heck kind of chance do you think we have as convicts?

But now there has been a change, because of Officer Papke becoming their sponsor, and the introduction of Indians from the outside free community interested in their welfare and well-being. They gradually, by working with themselves, self-help programs, getting the guy off of sniffing -- I don't know how many people here are familiar with sniffing -- they would sniff glue or anything they could to get high on over there, and this of course meant more infractions, and the more infractions he got, the less chance he has of parole.[142]

* * *

I came here to relate to you a personal experience as part of a program called the U.S. Prisons Program. If it weren't for this program, I wouldn't be standing here talking to you. If it weren't for this program, I wouldn't be with my family. I, Jerry Fallis, am a guy who came from a broken home. All these conditions these people are talking about, have been meeting with you people in Washington about, I am a product of all that, and eventually I turned to a life of crime for sheer survival.

The first time I went to jail was when I was fifteen years old. There were no youth centers, nobody concerned, no organizations. In a little town called Wood -- Cato knows where it is, it's on his reservation -- I broke into a grocery store, me and my buddy, to get some food. Because we didn't know how to pull a clean job, we got caught. Third degree burglary. Okay. Probation.

The next thing I knew I came out of that prison, no assistance, nothing. You try to get a job. You've got to establish some kind of employment record. We can't help you, we can't help you, we can't help you. You have to get out on your own, and try for six or seven months to establish some kind of work record, they keep telling us. Okay. The only thing I know how to do is steal. So I go back to stealing.

In 1961 I entered Sioux Falls Stonewall College, as they call it, out there on the hill. I graduated from that, came out here and still no assistance, no help, nothing.

I went big-time, started committing federal crimes, violating federal laws, there's bigger money in it and a lot more action. I went to federal prison in Sandstone, Minnesota, right up here. I came out of there -- still no help. Again I turned to what I know best. Again I am not as good as I thought I was, so I got caught again. I was sent back to Sandstone and this time I thought, by gosh, there is something that has got to be done. I got together with friends of mine -- a guy from North Dakota, another from Rosebud, he dances quite a bit down there. We got together and talked about an organization called the American Indian Club in that institution. I am here to explain the purpose of that club, what we have accomplished so far. In a period of two years, we have covered a lot of ground. We encourage education through this organization, and with the help of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, we have made available for men coming out, a vocational training program, and employment assistance program. This year we got about thirteen guys out of that institution. Ten are still with us. I believe this is a pretty good batting average.

We have had, over a period of two years, forty-five graduates of different kinds -- colleges, vocational schools, high school, etc., because this help is now available to us when we leave an institution. [143]

* * *

Because of the large return to the prison system, the solution that state of california has isn't sufficient. The answers they have aren't right. Since the indeterminate sentences of 1948 within this state, the Indian has more or less been program rejective, to the extent that California, to rehabilitate a convict, initiates programs for the individual inmate. The Indians of this state and other states, and the Indians committed to this system, have rejected these programs, and consequently return in violation of their parole. In violation of many, many different technicalities and inconsequential disorders, excessive intake of alcoholic beverages, violation of traffic ordinances and these things.

To combat this return, which is very high, the Antelope Indian Circle has initiated a proposal for All Tribes Halfway House. Basically, this All Tribes Halfway House will be operated for and run by Indians. It's interest is to create some meager in-between situation, where the individual Indian being released from the penal system can assimilate slowly in today's society. [144]

* * *

This young man, the point he's trying to make about the halfway house, a very very important things. The Indian that comes out of the institution where has he got to go? No place. It has only been recently, since we initiated a joint statement of the department and the bureau of Indian Affairs to assist Indians going on parole. This is fine, but how about the Indian that would like to go back to northern California, or to work up there and get out of the city? This is a big jungle, so he'd rather be up in northern California, the most beautiful part of the country. But he has no housing.

Halfway House is housing for a man coming out of the institution for a period of ninety days, and on special conditions, as Mr. Gorbet said, to exceed that. The most important is that thirty to sixty days, in between from the very first day that he's released to that ninety day period of adjusting to the free world as the inmate says. There's some difficulty. He's not used to budgeting money.

He's so used to the bell ringing in the morning he'll go in to breakfast, and there's somebody to serve him his breakfast or lunch. Adjusting to the free world takes some adjusting.

So there's a place, the halfway house that Mr. Gorbet talks about, where the Indian coming into the free world can go, with people that he's used to -- the job, the language, the counselor that understands him and someone to help him get adjusted. We have inmates coming out of prison living in rat traps. You know, after working all day, to come back and crawl into some alley, that's discouraging. Sometimes you get to wondering which is better, a nice clean cell or a dirty cockroach-infested room to crawl into. He stayed in prison for eight years just to come back to a bug-infested room.

The halfway house is a step to rehabilitate, to adjust Indians coming back into the community.[144]

* * *

There were numerous comments about the problems of Indian young people with the law. The following quotations give some indications of the ways in which these problems were perceived by the Indian adults who appeared before the committee:

> Out here at our juvenilte department today we were observing the list of referrals and why a child was brought out here. I'm ashamed to say it, but we've got a list that reads just like an adult list at the county or city jail -- we have everything from murder, to burglary cases, to assaults, to attempts to kill, you name it, and we've got it out there. This isn't strictly the American Indian kid, we're talking about the whole group.
>
> CHAIR: But what kinds of juvenile delinquency do you find that the Indian child is more apt to be involved in?
>
> MR. WILLIS: Well, it comes back to an old saying, "the Indian and his whiskey will not mix," and this is what we find with this type of kid.
>
> CHAIR: Alcohol?
>
> MR. WILLIS: Yes, and this alcohol is a big problem.

CHAIR: And they're arrested for drunkenness?

MR. WILLIS: Minor in possession of alcohol. But, like I say, this isn't real big.

CHAIR: No, but these are the kinds of problems.

MR. WILLIS: Right, and I think it's social service -- if it were extended, I believe that we could help.

CHAIR: This is a symptom, not a cause.

MR. WILLIS: Right.[146]

* * *

My name is Gerald Sam, from Bridgeport, California. I'm Paiute and Washoe. We're dealing with the youth which is many, the movement of American native youth, and I think essentially we're dealing with education which we feel is the biggest problem of the Indian people, because even on the reservations, or in the cities or the urban areas, the children, the Indian children, shouldn't have to compete with the Anglo-American learning program. To learn to read is to have education, or to learn what education is all about, and if you can't read, you're nowhere.

So, as a child, if you're taught not to have an inferiority complex, which I think many Indian people have, but won't admit it. It is brought forth by the white people, they give that to them. It is not just put there.

So, what we're dealing with are the people of 16th Street and what is happening there. They come from the whole Bay Area. I mean, not only the San Francisco area, but the complete Bay Area. They're on 16th and they're at a dance. They pay a dollar and a half or two dollars, and that's all they get out of that.

I myself am going to court on a felony charge for a fight, and for what reason? I didn't even start it. It was a white person. They put me in jail, they let the white person go, and I'm still paying a white lawyer $500 to get out of jail. And this is the whole problem in the San Francisco area that no one has even recognized.[147]

THE CHAIMAN: What type of arrests are being made? What are the young people arrested for?

DELORED RAISCH: Well, car theft, running away from home, truancy from school.

THE CHAIRMAN: Truancy from school? Absenteeism from school is enough to put them in an institution?

DELORES RAISCH: Oh, yes. If they miss too much, if they have a poor record, absenteeism, this will put them in an institution. This is why we have been talking to the Commissioner of Corrections. We believe the judges are also a little prejudiced toward the Indians. I personally know this to be true.

I don't like to air my family problems, but I have a boy who is fifteen years old. He has been in trouble with the law about two years. Some of the charges against him was with white kids, and he got the blame for them. He was sent to a forestry camp up in northern Minnesota, thirty-four miles from Nashwauk, right out in the woods. He wasn't going to school, but was working forty hours a week. The kid was going crazy up there. He slashed his wrist; it took nine stitches to close it. I almost fainted when I went there and saw that cut on his arm. We asked, as his parents, to have him transferred to some other institution. We went to the Commissioner of Corrections, and he agreed to review the case. My boy is now in Red Wing and doing fine.[148]

* * *

Having worked with the community for fifteen years, we made many contacts. We were asked on a number of occasions to be present in courts -- this is one of my chiefest concerns, both in the juvenile and the adult courts. We had to witness sometimes the termination of parental rights. This is one of the most serious things for any ethnic group to face.

Early when I came here, I was invited by the Chippewa tribal council to meet with them at Bemidji. I brought this concern up and I said, "When children no longer have their parents, it seems to me it behoves us as a tribe and as an Indian ethnic group to say that the tribe is behind you. We should take issue with this, then establish either centers or make some provision so they can feel their own ethnic group is then responsible, have the re-

sources." Yet last week when I was asked to be in court -- because we certainly work with all agencies in the community, public and private -- to be there with a family, to try to make what plans we could, this is a case where both parents are beset by the disease of alcoholism. The children did have a grandmother although she was handicapped physically. She looked after the seven children in this case, but we had no temporary place where we could house Indian couples, where they could have the support of the Indian community and members of their families and friends still in the area. I think this is a vital concern.

It still plagues me that welfare agencies should take families and disperse them, put the children all over the state in boarding schools, wherever they can find them, when they really need the strength to be able to relate to each other. A strong person like a grandmother or an aunt is very [illegible]ful at this time -- it's less traumatic.[149]

* * *

THE CHAIRMAN: Are parents notified when young people are arrested?

DELORES RAISCH: Yes, they are notified.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do they know what the procedures are to get help?

DELORES RAISCH: We are beginning to get help along this line. We are going to have a Legal Aid clinic set up in our center, starting next month. It will help with these problems, to get legal advice. These things are beginning to come out. Our main concern is keeping these young people occupied and busy so they don't have time to be roaming the streets. This center is really the only place they have to go. There was a settlement house, but it has been moved. We have quite a few families on the North Side.[150]

* * *

Regarding the operation of a North Side youth Center: Another reason we have the center is to keep the kids off the streets and cut down the police problems. As everyone know, we have a high percentage of arrests among our Indian youth in Minneapolis. Many of these young people are committed to state institutions. We have been meeting with the state officials from the Department of Corrections. We had one meeting with the Deputy Commissioner so far, and some of the young people told him of

the things they had suffered at the hands of the counselors at some of these institutions.

One of the boys told how he was beaten by one counselor. Both eyes were blackened and his face was all puffed up when his mother went to see him on Christmas Day. I remember, because my husband and I took the mother out to see the boy.

Naturally, the Commissioner was shocked by these stories. The parents who go to visit their youngsters in these institutions are treated very discourteously. If the parents are treated like this when they go and ask a question, you can imagine what these youngsters are treated like when they are there 24 hours a day for months or years...

These people are willing to sit down and listen to our complaints and try to do something about these problems. We are in the process of writing a proposal to present to the Commissioner asking for Indian personnel in these institutions, not only case workers, social workers, and counselors, but also guards, cooks, janitors, matrons, typists, and any other personnel they have. We would like Indian people themselves to go and talk to the case workers and counselors who are with the younger people constantly and try to have them understand a little of the Indian culture and history. They need to know that what they see on TV and reading books are not the true facts -- that we are human beings and should be treated as such.[151]

* * *

Thus, problems with the law were seen by numerous witnesses as a major problem of adaptations to the city. Observations offered by Indian witnesses included the following:

1. Violence is a common occurrance in areas frequented by Indians.
2. Police harassment and unfair law enforcement are common.
3. There are few, if any, Indian law enforcement officers.
4. Indians are arrested and convicted in disporportionate numbers partly because they do not know how to protect their rights. They "give up" when there are dealys in receiving legal assistance, and they have a tendency to plead guilty rather than "raise a fuss."
5. Self-help programs for Indian inmates may be the only effective means of rehabilitation, and they half-way house for ex-offenders is an important vehicle.

6. Indian young people are arrested for a range of violations similar to that which occurs with adults. Drinking problems are common. In some cases, Indian young people are arrested for truancy.

7. A contributing factor to Indian juvenile delinquency, may be the termination of provided rights by agencies and courts.

8. One purpose of Indian growth centers is to keep Indian young people off the streets where trouble with the law is likely to occur.

* * *

Needs For Social Activities and Recreation

Several Indian people who spoke to the committee stressed the importance of suitable recreational facilities, as well as opportunities for Indian social activities in the city. As noted in an earlier report, many Indians feel that a special urban Indian center should be the site for such activities, but until recent months, there has been little evidence of the likeliness of funding these facilities.

Social and recreational needs were described by Indian witnesses as follows:

> ... if you are on a vocational training program, you leave school at 5:00 or 5:30 p.m. There is no place to go for recreation. There is just no place to go.
>
> Being unfamiliar with the city and not apt to travel around looking for the closest park, and not knowing anyone, there's only one other thing to do. That is sit around the house or apartment or visit your friend and drink. That is what happens.
>
> I think if there were good recreational facilities available for Indian people, they would know there were Indian people there, and would be welcome as an Indian. The recreational facilities would be more than used. Probably be looking for added space within several months, but there just is nothing.[152]

* * *

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has spent millions of dollars in the last two years on "relocating" Indians and yet has totally ignored social and recreational programs. As a result of this a large percentage of Indians have returned to their reservations homesick and disillusioned.[153]

* * *

Now, as has been brought up, our Indian people tend to want to congregate where there are other large groups of Indian people, they don't go to the parks, they'll go there, maybe just two or three -- they don't feel at home. They may not go back. We're trying to contact these people and develop some leadership from within the group, the young ones in particular, to see if they are willing to organize and let us guide them in the utilization of the facilities. I think we can work out a program with the Park and Recreation Department that will make special nights -- if we've got a group of Indian people that come in and say, "We want a part in your program," and make it a part of their program and not a reservation thing, I think that facility would be provided if there is space available. I think we've got to get the Indian population interested enough to go and do these things and we're going to try and guide them along these lines.[154]

* * *

I'm with the Dallas Park Department ... The Dallas Park Department has a lot to offer, but there are a lot of qualifications to it. I remember somebody mentioned something about summer employment for students. Dallas Park Department has summer jobs for kids going to school and even though they are not in school, it works both ways. They get a salary. I think it's $1.60 an hour. For my part, I worked with kids of different nationalities. I'm a recreation leader and I work in West Dallas. I work with Anglos, Mexicans, colored, and Indians. I haven't run across a Chinese yet. We deal with all different kinds of people, teenagers to adults, senior citizens. I find a lack of communication with the Bureau of Indian Affairs ... Even today I work with Haskell Institute, and a lot of kids come from different schools all over the United States. They come to Dallas. Some have played ball. They don't know where to go. I think this is where the BIA should help. It has people coming into the state who have never lived in a city before, and I think they could be more helpful to the people. We have a lot of young people and they need to know where they can go for recreation before we can be of service to them.

That is where the BIA can help those who come in from all parts of the country -- to let them know about services that are available to them in the city. I think some Indians are bashful and they don't ask as they should. There has to be some sort of central agency to direct these people to the services. The Dallas Park Department has sixteen recreational centers where they offer free art oil painting classes, basketball events, soccer, golf, bowling, and ceramics and beading for the ladies. ... The city pays us and we do the teaching, then we have some volunteers. Volunteers are important. These people volunteer their services to communicate with people and acquaint them with the local area. Like myself, I teach beading, I also handle the basketball events. Right now, I have eight Indian basketball teams with a tournament coming up next week. Six of these are from Oklahoma, one from Houston, and one from Dennison, Texas. Since most Indians are a little backward about mixing with other people, it would help if they could have a center by themselves. The Dallas Park Department offers a lot of different cultural things such as painting in the centers, but I still think it would help the Indian people to have a center of their own, both cultural and sports-oriented ... I know a lot of them have gotten discouraged and have gone back to their home states because they didn't fit in.[155]

* * *

Some social and recreational activities were related to the committee by witnesses. The following excerpts from testimony provide descriptions of urban Indian social and athletic events in Dallas, Los Angeles and Minneapolis.

> I heard you ask about the involvement of parents within the PTA in the school. I do know several mothers who belong to the PTA, and we have dad's clubs here and fathers who do belong to the Dad's Club. We have children who belong to the Scouts, and we work closely with the Scouts. We also have recreational opportunities for some of our people, we have basketball games, softball games, and volleyball teams. We just need to get out and do a little more advertising. We also have the Indian churches.[156]

* * *

> I know that within our own church, we have a very active group of young people. We do have the basketball team, softball teams, and we try to keep our young people interested.

We have made alot of new contacts with children through this ... I believe ones with parents, we can reach within the church, but there are young people who, on Sunday morning, would rather turn over and go back to sleep again.[157]

* * *

My experience is mostly with the self-relocated Indian who is a stable person in the community at this time. We have had the good fortune of organizing the Many Trails Singing Club of Los Angeles, over six years age. It has been a financial success and a social success.

I think it is due to the fact that these people are stable in the community. They have resources in the community, they like their jobs, their family is here, or part of it, and it gives them a sense of responsibility to the community and to themselves to make a success of their own organization.

The families are relating to the schools fairly well, seeing that their children are educated in the public system and in some instances, in parochial school situations. They do gravitate toward their own tribal group. If there are others in their tribe here, their family social events are scheduled to include the family. Some of them participate in athletic programs that are provided by the Indian groups. Some of them are quite active in their own local community park department development programs and athletic programs.

Part of them, about half, are church members of all the different denominations.[158]

* * *

I do know of two parks that you can find any number of Indians. You can go up there and if you can't find them, they'll tell you they're at the other one, because it's closer to home. These two places have a bus running right by there. Now, J.C. Park, where Joe Miller is from, has no bus service. It's way out, it's just barely in the city limits and transportation is one of the problems, going out there. It's not around the Indian community, where these other two parks -- I know that on Monday night, there are four or five girls, completely Indian girl teams, who play at one gym every Monday night. And on Thursday nights, they have Indian boys teams. I don't know how many there are. I've never gone to any of their games, but I do know they have after school programs that my children participate in and other Indian children participate in, but they just happen

to be where there are so many Indians and it's convenient for the children to get there. It is a little more convenient at these two places. On Sunday afternoon, you will find all the kids from any of the churches, they all congregate at these parks because they come home from church, eat, and go and play, then go back to church.[159]

* * *

A week ago, on Sunday, we were allowed to use one of the junior high school buildings on Sunday afternoon for a family day. The gym and the pool were open, and we got some films from the Audio-Visual Department. It was for children, grown-ups, and grandmothers,and everybody. We were just hoping we would get at least thirty-five, because that was the number of people that the School Board felt would make it worthwhile to keep the building open. We were very happy because we got seventy. They weren't all Indians, but we let the white people in, too. So I think we going to continue this ...

Anyway, as our culminating activity on this spring community school thing, we have got a real plan going. If anybody in this room has become acculturated to the point where you have taken over the white man's ulcers and tension headaches, along about the third week in May, we are going to have a canoe trip up on the border, again for families, kids, grandmothers, anybody who wants to come. Bring your own canoe, if you have it, and if not, we will stir up a few extra. I don't know just how primitive we are going to get, but we expect to have a lot of fun.

We will be glad to have anyone come along who wants to.[160]

* * *

Thus, some witnesses saw a crucial need for better recreational and meeting facilities for urban Indians. The lack of these facilities contributes to drinking problems, according to some. Without "Indian" places to meet, others asserted, many Indians abandon attempts to adapt to the city and return to the reservation. Despite the lack of facilities, urban Indians were actively organizing themselves for social and recreational purposes.

* * *

Agency Inadequacies And Needs For Social Services

It was clear from testimony at the urban Indian hearings that ordinarily agency services in the city were regarded as inadequate. There were criticisms, statements of needs, and suggestions for improvement.

Some who spoke to the committee believed that Indian self-help and self-reliance were the key to successful urban adaptations:

> The main function that agencies should play is not to do it for him, but to teach and help him to do it for himself. He must learn new things and adapt to new ways. I would like to use myself as an example on some very simple things that are not understood.
>
> When my family moved here from the reservation twenty-three years ago, I didn't know how to give my house number. I thought the four digit number was read as regular numbers were and not as two sets of numbers. This is just a simple thing but add many more little misunderstandings and you have confusion.[161]

* * *

> An idea discussed amongst some of the Indians is why could there not be some organization, set up to help newly arrived Indians. The ones who are here one to five years have become aware of the hazards of living in the city. It's like when somebody is brought off the reservation, it's a completely new world. It would be like somebody leaving the United States and going to China, attempting to get a job and make it in their society. They would not be equipped. They don't know the language. They would not be able to get a job. It is similar to that, when the new Indian is brought to the city. They are trained, or taught a skill. They may well become adept at the skill, but they are given no instruction in, say, credit buying and the pitfalls of credit buying, and how to become a proper consumer. It is awful tough for anybody to make it in the city, with all of the schemes around and the high credit. Somebody totally naive to the situation, is just like a lamb going to the slaughter.[162]

* * *

> I think that to really help the Indians, the Indians have to do it themselves. They have to be concerned with and help each other out that way.[163]

The nature of assistance also was discussed. Some witnesses felt that orientation to city life should be gradual, that social training was important, and that guides to helping Indians could be obtained from the experiences of other ethnic groups:

> We would recommend also that a slow paced orientation be given to the American Indian when he arrives here. When we say "slow paced" we mean introduced to the community, advising him of opportunities, the Department of Employment, the federal offices, the local offices that are available, and not just to rush through a quick tour and forgotten in that respect. But really given an opportunity to learn what services these various agencies may give.
>
> As Mr. Walters has indicated, we give the same services to Indians as any other person who is eligible for services in the county with public assistance.[164]
>
> * * *
>
> There are other countries in the world that are struggling with the same problem. One of the best examples of this is Israel. I think there are models we could look to and program from them.[165]
>
> * * *
>
> We need social adjustment and social training.[166]
>
> * * *

Also, it appeared that existing urban agencies seldom were able to meet immediate, emergency needs; Indian organizations more often were structured to do that, although they were not adequately funded:

> Social workers start at eight and quit at four. This isn't the answer.
>
> Problems that come up on Saturday night, like they get thrown in jail or get jack rolled, and you don't have bus transportation for the following week. This is where you need help. He needs help Sunday night. If he has a problem that is going to affect his attendance Monday morning, he should have a place where he can call and say, "I got a problem. Will somebody help me?" He has no place at the present time.[167]

From a representative of the Antelope Valley American Indian League:

I think one thing has been overlooked here. It may not be important to you, but this organization I belong to is an organization that gives immediate need. That work, "immediate need" is very important.

Whether people think this is necessary or not, we have our organization that has helped 83 families in the last year. That may not seem like much. At the time, it was very important, because these people had problems and needed immediate aid. There was no place they could go to.

This is why our organization was formed. I would rather not see an organization like this, but it is necessary.

I would like to give you an example of some of the aid we have given. We have helped three women with children that did not qualify for welfare aid because they had to go through certain legal channels.

We were able to help financially there -- to pay for the legal fees.

I think there is one other organization in Los Angeles that offers immediate aid -- the Shooting Star Foundation. They help where they can, until their resources run out.

I feel if there were some agency funded to help with immediate needs, it would be a help.[168]

* * *

From the president of the Shooting Star Foundation:

What we do is furnish food to the needy, pay their utilities, and find them employment, give them rent, and at Christmas, send two truckloads of things to the Tule Reservation. That is Tulare.

We also have been sending medicine there. We were fortunate enough to get two doctors to sign for medicine that was donated.

There were also two nurses that volunteered their services to make calls at home.

We are supported by the Eagles, Girl Scouts, and a general contribution from some golf club, through the efforts of Fred Gabourie.[169]

* * *

The criticisms of urban agency performance were many. Some of these criticisms are included here to suggest the nature of Indian dissatisfaction with urban agencies:

> I think we can agree the real initiative in Indian affairs in Los Angeles, is the Indian people of Los Angeles. Over and over, we have heard one story after another, of people attempting to assist themselves and their fellow tribesmen with inadequate support.
>
> I see too little evidence of serious involvement on the part of the local community, the county, or the state. I see little evidence of involvement on the part of the institution of higher education.
>
> I have heard nothing of the contributions and involvement of the great philanthropic foundations. I think this has to be pointed out.
>
> We have seen a great deal of self help and involvement on the part of Indian groups. We see stories and hear stories of lack of flexibility in the administration of programs, a preoccupation with form more than substance sometimes.[170]

* * *

> The only people that I refer to are the people I go to church with, or if they're in a position, I usually go to them. I say, "Here's a poor Indian guy that's got a family, and needs a job," These are the only ways I can get people in a position. The state employment and the county are not about to help. The Bureau of Indian Affairs staff with how many people -- counselors sitting there running back and forth from coffee period. They're not helping. You talk about it, and you raise tax money. This is where it comes from. I think it could be used in a lot of ways, I think there should be watchdog committees watching some of these agencies.[171]

* * *

> The social life as such, as I mentioned before, seems to gravitate toward the bars. It would seem that possibly the Bureau of Indian Affairs or possibly an unnamed organization could take over the task of coordination, or the working together, to see that the new Indians are directed toward some organization that can help them, be it a church organization or the Los Angeles Indian Center, or the Indian Welcome House. All of these organizations are in the city. Yet we have to go out ourselves and contact newly arrived Indians. It seems like a little coordination

could be set up in this field.[172]

* * *

What we should have is a land reform. When the Indian leaves the reservation, he should be able to exchange his property, the evaluation of it, toward property close to where he works. He shouldn't have to leave his family on the reservation. He should be able to take his family with him, when he leaves. He should be able to take his evaluation with him when he leaves. He should have good counselors who would have the Indians' interest at heart.

We have counselors -- I've seen counselors -- they're paid money, and that is the only thing they work for. They'll come in, turn their ear to you and listen, but they won't do anything for you. What the Indian needs is good counseling after he leaves the reservation, so he can get a good job and hold on to that job. He needs good counseling when he is discouraged.[173]

* * *

I also feel at a certain period we're also part of the larger Dallas-Fort Worth community. I have a feeling that there is no give and take. It's just all kind of on a one way -- maybe I'm reading into it. I'm not criticizing you and your agency, I'm saying I have a general feeling this is so. The hearings we had in Los Angeles, the school board was there and made one of the best contributions to the hearing. You know, it was a whole different atmosphere. It seems there is a whole element of the local community -- it's like a one-way effort, like it's all the BIA's responsibility or all the Indians' responsibility to push himself in that community. I don't think that's so. I think this is a community concern and people are a part of this community and the community should respond to them. Maybe I'm overstating or maybe overemphasizing, but it just seems like from the things I'm getting, it's kind of a one-way street. The Indian is giving, they go to the opening ceremonies for the library and they go and perform free. They volunteer their services for civic activity, opening of art shows, things like that. I don't see anything coming in the other direction. Maybe the city itself isn't knowledgeable of the Indian population.[174]

* * *

See, people in social service agencies go on and on and on. They never seem to have an event, where they have a

beginning and an end. One of the things in working with industrial people, they have a chart and say by May 1st, June 1st, etc., etc., I am going to have X amount accomplished. When you bring this up to a lot of our social agency people working with our Indian people in public schools, this threatens them, see. This means you have got to produce, and I don't know, this is why these people seem maybe to hate industry. I don't know what it is. If we could institute programs in the Indian community, I would say this, we would have to go overboard and pay a salary that would be equilvalent to what that individual would earn in industry. I know quite a large number of Indians that we never hear or see about who are making ten, twelve, fourteen thousand dollars who never even finished high school and they live right here in town. They are doing real well, and we don't see or hear about them. These are the people who have gone through the mill, without an education and yet who are buying homes. It's estimated around three hundred homeowners in the city of Minneapolis, so not necessarily the people with the MSW have the answer. We have proven that. We have had social agencies for years and yet we have riots. They haven't cured. They haven't seemingly done that much. I would make a recommendation, if we were ever to have an effective Indian program, we are going to have to instill within that program on-going evaluation with business thinking. Just forget the social agency stuff of sitting back in the rocking chair and drawing their pay regardless of your ability or your production.[175]

* * *

We had a family of Sioux people from South Dakota whose car had broken down in Phoenix. They were on their way to look for work. They were out in the cold because the BIA could do nothing for them. The state welfare could do nothing for them, because they were not local residents. And no matter what agency we tried to get help from, it just wasn't their problem.

If the Indian community had not rallied around, and from what little money they had earned selling fried bread and baked beans at the State Fair, and helped this family and collected some clothing and food, I don't know what would have become of this family. This is why I say the only one that will, in the long run, help the Indian is another Indian.[176]

* * *

I went to work for an agency, and I thought I could get something done. There are several of my Indian fellow workers who can support what I am telling you. That is, you make a suggestion as to how the Indian people can be better served or how the Indian people can be helped. There's always some reason why it can't be done, but you are never told the reason. You say, well, why can't this be done. Well, we just can't do it. So the first thing you know you start growing an ulcer like the businessman does, and you get lumps on your head from knocking your heads against the wall. And it gets pretty damned frustrating.

This brings me to that six month syndrome, because that is one of the reasons why we have this, because the Indian person who tries, who really tries to get something done, after he runs into this for a while, he says: the heck with that. I'm going to where I can get something done.[177]

* * *

Another thing, this education for our children, our school lunch program. There was a period of time, when I sent my children to school without lunches, no lunches. When I first started on my job, I was paid every two weeks, and this school had a lunch program, but we were not eligible because of my salary I was making. Well, it would be three weeks before I would have gotten my first paycheck, and it would have been for the one week at the beginning. These emergencies, surely there should be a fund or something where you could run to for an emergency during this period of time, but there are none. I have looked. So I wasn't eligible for welfare, because I was working on the night shift. I went to the welfare and they told me they didn't have people like me, coming in there. Well, my job was seasonal, it was ending, because I was working on this job, I wasn't eligible for welfare. It was ending, there was nothing they could do; these are technicalities that we run into and this should be looked into. There are a lot of people that would try harder, I know, if there was something just to tide them over for that period of time.[178]

* * *

I would like to make my presentation on our kidney room at the Indian hospital. I was brought down from Nevada, Fallen, Nevada. When we first got here, I inquired for my family to come down after I got on the machine. That

> is what the doctor told me. Then I found out my family could not come down right away because I didn't have no proper house for them to come.
>
> I went to a social service, went all over. They could do nothing for me, financial problems and everything and not place to get any money, just from welfare, and I did not want to do that. So I was lowering myself, I felt like.
>
> Now I have got a different attitude about it. I figure they owe it to me.[179]

* * *

Some witnesses were particularly interested in the relationship of urban Indians to established employment centers. The following excerpts refer to Indian participation in an opportunities industrialization center, a community action program, and a pilot city center employment program:

> MR. EFFMAN: How many Indians have gone through OIC in this area?
>
> MR. CARMOUCHE: Through OIC? I can find out for you. I can't tell you right off the top of my head. I'd say this: very few, very few. The process of outreach we have is limited because of the few people we have. There are many people who will not just voluntarily go in, so that's why I say very few.
>
> MRS. TITTLE: I'll say one further word. We're trying desperately to bring men into the program. It's predominantly female and we're trying desperately to get men into the program. There are jobs waiting.[180]

* * *

> MR. STATON: I was wondering, you have about 8,000 Indians in the city of Dallas, according to estimates we've gotten the last couple of days. The State of Oklahoma, which is the Indian state, you don't have eight times that many. In other words, right in the home city of Dallas, you have sixteen percent as many Indians as the entire state of Oklahoma. Yet, there is no evidence that the Indians have been involved at all in your Community Action Program. Is that correct?
>
> MR. CARMOUCHE: I'd say this basically is correct.[181]

* * *

MR. VALANDRA: How many Indians go through your center per day?

MR. PATRICK LUSSIER: About ifve.

MR. VALANDRA: Five per day?

MR. PATRICK LUSSIER: Per day.

MR. VALANDRA: How many Indians in the city of Minneapolis and St. Paul?

MR. PATRICK LUSSIER: I'd say around twelve thousand.

MR. VALANDRA: Twelve thousand. You only get five a day in the particular area you are in?

MR. LUSSIER: Well, it varies. It depends if it's warm.

MR. VALANDRA: Depends on what?

MR. LUSSIER: Between Tuesday and Thursday we get a lot of them. (laughter)

MR. VALANDRA: What's the matter with Monday?

MR. LUSSIER: That's a good question. (laughter)

MR. VALANDRA: Are they in jail or something like that, do you think?

MR. LUSSIER: Well, I wouldn't say that. They just don't seem to --

MR. VALANDRA: Maybe they sleep Friday, Saturday and Sunday and Monday and come in Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday. What do you think is the reason you are not getting any more Indians to report to the Pilot Center? Why don't more report on Monday or as many on Monday or as many on Friday?

MR. LUSSIER: We have never made a study on that. A lot of people say they are celebrating Cochise's birthday until Monday. (laughter) I don't know how to get them in there on Mondays or Fridays. If they are there we help them.

MR. JOURDIAN: Do you have many repeaters, Pat?

> MR. LUSSIER; Oh, yes. A lot of them. Another big problem is the Indian going back to the reservation after saving up some money. Going back and forth, is a big problem keeping them on the job.[182]

* * *

Other witnesses saw a particular need to serve older Indian people in the city, and found existing agency services to be inadequate:

> ... the older people have to be utilized. They can't get a job because they're too old for the employable market. You only have certain ages between the ages of around 24 on up to maybe forty that people will hire. The Indian, the older Indian, has a very hard time. They have to go on General Assistance, which does not offer enough for people to really live on. They can live, but not live good.
>
> So these people, they're on General Assistance, but what do they have to do with their time? Nothing. We have all these different programs for the non-Indian. We have the foster grandparents. We have things like this for the non-Indians. You find programs in Chinatown. You find programs all over for the old people in these areas but not in the Indian community.[183]

* * *

I work for Hennepin County Welfare in Social Services to the Elderly. We are a componet of Pilot City on the North Side. My topic is the problems that the elderly Indians have with the welfare system. I am talking about the Indian that moves from the reservation to the city. The reasons for the elderly coming here are really very basic. They want better living conditions. The city offers a better life than the reservation does. The problems crop up because there is no planning stage involving the welfare department in the county they live in. They have no idea that their present welfare grant will not meet the living expenses in the city. Public assistance grants are based on need and the need has to be established before the grant can be opened or increased.

The client sometimes doesn't know that the grant can be increased to meet his higher living expenses here. For example, his total income may be $55 a month on old age assistance. Maybe this was enough to live on when

he was on the reservation where his expenses for rent and utilities were next to nothing. His first step is to move in with relatives. He doesn't realize he would get more money if he were to rent an apartment by himself. He doesn't know what to do and doesn't ask so nothing happens. The basic hangup is that his grant can't be increased until he has established living arrangements on which a budget can be based and an increase in his grant recommended.

This means he must first have the money to rent an apartment. He hasn't got it so he can't get a place. He can't borrow from a relative to tide him over until his grant is increased because his relatives don't have the extra money to lend out. So there he is in the vicious circle of having to move in with relatives. It takes approximately two months to get an increase in a grant. The case worker from this county must set up a budget based on the person's new living arrangements. The recommendations are sent to the county where the client receives his old age assistance grant. That county must then submit the charge to the local board which meets once a month. This request may just have missed board action and have to wait until the following month to even get an okay for the increase. It takes time to process and it can take as long as two or three months before he gets the increased welfare check. You must recognize this stumbling block does exist. Steps must be taken to overcome it. Tell them to go to the relief department for emergency funds to supplement the Old Age assistance check until the grant can be increased. Be sure the relief department is aware of the situation and knows how to handle it promptly and efficiently. When moving, the person should first clear with his own county welfare department so his check can be sent to him. Once he gets here, he should contact the Hennepin County Welfare Department to help him get his adjustments.

Get everyone aware of just what steps to take and avoid hang-ups caused by not knowing who to call, what to do, or what they are entitled to. The problem happens over and over. He arrives here and does not know the proper channels. Many people try to help, but they don't go to the right source.

Maybe the daughter takes her father in. She is already on AFDC for herself and her childre. The next thing that happens is the daughter's AFDC grant is lowered because her father must pay his share in the household expenses.

> Her father is unhappy too, because he doesn't really want to stay there. He doesn't understand when the case worker tells him he can move. This is all very confusing to him. He usually just moves to some other relatives or friends. He never does get adjusted becasue he bacomes discouraged and quits. He either goes back to the hopeless reservation or he turns to drink as an escape. The drinking leads to other problems -- with his landlord, his neighbors, and the police. So he just moves on, perhaps owing rent and unpaid utility bills. This bad experience hasn't helped him gain any pride in his self worth. It's lowered his own image of himself. He now feels there is nothing to gain by trying so he gives up.[184]

* * *

Two witnesses, one an official of the Los Angeles Department of Social Services, and the other a BIA official commenting about the cooperativeness of the Texas State Welfare Department, provided insights from somewhat different perspectives:

> The American Indian group aided by the Department ... is slightly less than four percent of the twenty-five thousand low estimate of American Indians residing in Los Angeles and slightly less than 2.5 percent of the forty thousand high estimate. This is less than the approximate five percent of the general Los Angeles population aided by the Department of Social Services.
>
> Superficially, these figures seem to suggest that the plight of the Los Angeles urban American Indian is not as grave as the President's message would indicate. Yet the Department, during the course of research reading on American Indians, contacts with community organizations servicing American Indians, and inter-agency conferences held on May 14, and July 9, 1968, has learned and is well aware that accurate statistical data on urban American Indians is difficult to gather since, in the urban setting, American Indians are not readily identified, receive no benefit from so identifying themselves, and indeed, are under pressure from the dominant ethnic group and its institutions to become assimilated.
>
> We were informed, furthermore, by the directors of various private service agencies that our figures do not represent

> a true picture of the plight of the American Indian since members of that group are either mistrustful of or lack knowldge of the services of government agencies and so, in crises, turn to friends, church groups, or Indian centers for assistance; we adopt a nomadic pattern of life; or return to reservations.[185]

* * *

> Of course, they have their own eligibility criteria, but when our people have been residents long enough, this is no problem. I think they get the same services, any other citizen gets, based on our information.[186]

* * *

Finally, an urban Indian spokesman referred to one barrier to the organization of needed services as having its origins in the Indian community:

> We have got some ten organizations in the city fighting each other, trying to build up their own little bailiwick and their own little empire. We have seen the same thing happening in the government, in the political entities. Everybody is building a little empire. Who comes out on the short end of the stick, and who always comes out on the short end of the stick both on the reservation and in town? Our people have, and especially those that most need the resources and services and help in the city and on the reservation, because of our lousy fighting with one another.[187]

* * *

In summary, typical urban social service agencies (other than the BIA) were perceived by many witnesses to be inadequate insofar as meeting the needs of Indians is concerned. There were urging for greater self-help and self-reliance among urban Indians. Programs of gradual orientation to the city were thought to be best. The need for social training was stressed, and it was thought that urban Indians could learn from peoples in similar situations, as in Israel.

Most urban agencies were failing to meet emergency needs, according to many witnesses, and some attributed this to the bureaucratized behavior of social workers. Indian agencies, poorly funded, were trying to satisfy emergency needs.

Urban agencies were said to be inflexible and preoccupied with form rather than substance. Counselors were criticized as ineffectual, the BIA was criticized for not contacting newly arrived Indians and orienting them to the city, and local communities were criticized for not initiating more involvement.

Some witnesses indicated that Indians were not using established employment programs, and there was some indication that life-style or cultural factors were important in this. The special problems of older urban Indian citizens were described.

Non-Indian agency representatives stressed the cultural difference of Indians as significant to the delivery of services and indicated they felt urban Indians received the same services as non-Indians.

Finally, one urban Indian spokesman thought that in-fighting among urban Indians was contributing to the diminution of agency services.

FOOTNOTES*

[1]Woods, Richard G. and Arthur M. Harkins. An Examination of the 1968-1969 Urban Indian Hearings Held by the National Council on Indian Opportunity. Part I: Education. Minneapolis: Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota, June, 1971.

Ibid., Part II: Interracial Aspects. July, 1971.

Ibid., Part III: Indian Self-Definitions. June, 1971.

Ibid., Part IV: The Indian Center, July, 1971.

[2]Minneapolis, pp. 146-147, Dennis Wynne.

[3]Minneapolis, pp. 65-66, Alfrieda Beaver.

[4]Minneapolis, pp. 179-180, Emily Peake.

[5]Minneapolis, p. 77, Patrick Lussier.

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*The basic documents for this report are:

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Los Angeles, California of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," December 16-17, 1968. Mimeograph. 311 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Dallas, Texas of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," February 13-14, 1969. Mimeograph. 213 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," March 18-19, 1969. Mimeograph. 209 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in San Francisco, California of the National Council on Indian Opportunity, April 11-12, 1969. Mimeograph. 249 pp.

Anon., "Public Forum Before the Committee on Urban Indians in Phoenix, Arizona of the National Council on Indian Opportunity," April 17-18, 1969. Mimeograph. 145 pp.

In the above footnoting, these volume references are abbreviated.

[6]Minneapolis, p. 68, La Donna Harris, Alfrieda Beaver.

[7]Minneapolis, pp. 60-61, Fred Roberts.

[8]Dallas, pp. 110-111, Robert W. Beames.

[9]Dallas, p. 120, Robert W. Beames.

[10]Dallas, p. 28, La Donna Harris.

[11]Dallas, pp. 198-199, Delores Seckletstewa.

[12]Dallas, p. 197, Mrs. Glenn Beezley.

[13]Dallas, p. 93, Joe Tafoya.

[14]Dallas, p. 72, Bernice Johnson.

[15]Dallas, pp. 111-112, Robert W. Beams, La Donna Harris.

[16]Dallas, p. 33, Dan Willis, La Donna Harris.

[17]Dallas, p. 106, Robert W. Beames.

[18]Dallas, p. 25, Peggy Larney.

[19]Dallas, p. 45, Virginia Edwards.

[20]Dallas, p. 26, Robert W. Beames.

[21]San Francisco, p. 33, John Denton.

[22]Phoenix, p. 38, Mrs. Rose King.

[23]Phoenix, p. 23, Bill Street.

[24]San Francisco, p. 6, Earl Livermore.

[25]Dallas, p. 50, Herbert Brown Otter.

[26]Los Angeles, p. 154, Joe Vasquaz.

[27]Los Angeles, pp. 144-145, Sam Kalb.

[28]Dallas, p. 88, Reverend Oliver Neal.

[29]Los Angeles, p. 153, Joe Vasquaz.

[30]Dallas, pp. 164-165, La Donna Harris, Joe Miller.

[31]Dallas, p. 29, La Donna Harris.

[32]Los Angeles, p. 152, Joe Vasquez.

[33]Los Angeles, p. 152, Joe Vasquez.

[34]Los Angeles, pp. 109-110, Tim Wapato.

[35]Phoenix, p. 27, Eva Metikos.

[36]Dallas, p. 12, George Younkin.

[37]Dallas, p. 153, Claude Watson.

[38]Dallas, p. 194, Dorothy Henson.

[39]Minneapolis, p. 182, Emily Peake.

[40]Los Angeles, pp. 203-204, Mrs. Fred Gabourie.

[41]Los Angeles, p. 212, Sunne Wright.

[42]Los Angeles, p. 222, William Carmack.

[43]San Francisco, p. 192, Eric L. Byrd.

[44]Minneapolis, p. 182, Emily Peake.

[45]San Francisco, p. 38, Denis Turner.

[46]Dallas, p. 5, Richard Lester.

[47]Dallas, pp. 90-91, Joe Tafoya.

[48]Los Angeles, p. 195, Formal Statement of Don Byron.

[49]San Francisco, p. 15, Anthony Matcha.

[50]Dallas, p. 74, Bernice Johnson.

[51]Dallas, pp. 67-69, Bernice Johnson.

[52]Los Angeles, pp. 106-107, Tim Wapato.

[53]Dallas, p. 97, La Donna Harris.

[54]Phoenix, p. 54, Mrs. Hazel Harold.

[55]Phoenix, p. 43, Lee Cook.

[56]Minneapolis, p. 47, Charles V. Buckanaga.

[57]Phoenix, p. 45, Lee Cook.

[58]Los Angeles, pp. 85-86, Steven S. Jones, Jr.

[59]Phoenix, p. 26, Eva Metikos.

[60]Phoenix, p. 26, Eva Metikos.

[61]Dallas, p. 126, Eula B. Palmer.

[62]Dallas, p. 35, Dan Willis.

[63]Dallas, pp. 95-96, Joe Tafoya.

[64]San Francisco, p. 10, Earl Livermore.

[65]San Francisco, p. 25, Jerome H. Klein.

[66]Los Angeles, p. 146, Sam Kalb.

[67]San Francisco, p. 5, Earl Livermore.

[68]San Francisco, p. 27, Jerome H. Klein.

[69]Los Angeles, p. 185, Formal Statement of Bert Walters.

[70]San Francisco, p. 6, Earl Livermore.

[71]San Francisco, p. 124, Stella Leach.

[72]Dallas, p. 80, La Donna Harris.

[73]San Francisco, p. 26, La Donna Harris, Jerome H. Klein.

[74]San Francisco, pp. 62-63, Mary Ann Grey Cloud, La Donna Harris, Unidentified member of the audience, Mary Lee Justice.

[75]San Francisco, pp. 120-121, Harold Red Bird.

[76]Dallas, p. 55, Mrs. John Archuleta.

[77]San Francisco, p. 233, Gerald Sam.

[78]Los Angeles, p. 276, Joseph Merdler.

[79]Los Angeles, p. 114, Fred Gabourie.

[80]San Francisco, p. 26, Jerome H. Klein.

[81]San Francisco, p. 242-243, Lehman Brightman.

[82]San Francisco, pp. 119- 20, Harold Red Bird.

[83]Minneapolis, p. 107, Charles Deegan.

[84]Minneapolis, pp. 184-185, Ed Holstein.

[85]San Francisco, pp. 234-235, Mary Lee Justice.

[86]San Francisco, pp. 236-237, Mary Lee Justice, La Donna Harris

[87]Los Angeles, p. 158, Reverend Stoneking.

[88]Los Angeles, p. 161, Reverend Stoneking.

[89]Los Angeles, p. 159, Reverend Stoneking.

[90]Minneapolis, p. 138, Bob Carr, La Donna Harris.

[91]San Francisco, p. 18, Anthony Matcha.

[92]Dallas, p. 24, Vance Tahmahkera.

[93]Los Angeles, p. 89, John W. King.

[94]San Francisco, p. 14, Anthony Matcha.

[95]Phoenix, p. 9, Mrs. Ellen Stevens.

[96]Dallas, p. 36, Wanda Kostzuta.

[97]San Francisco, p. 135, Dr. D. J. Tepper.

[98]Dallas, pp. 124-125, Eula B. Palmer.

[99]Dallas, pp. 24-25, La Donna Harris, Vance Tahmahkera.

[100]San Francisco, pp. 169-170, Miss Mary Lee Justice.

[101]San Francisco, p. 30, Horace Spencer.

[102]Phoenix, p. 37, Mrs. Rose King.

[103]Phoenix, p. 58, Mrs. Rose King.

[104]San Francisco, p. 175, Tom White Cloud.

[105]San Francisco, p. 167, Lee Sclar.

[106]Los Angeles, p. 211, Sunne Wright.

[107]San Francisco, p. 34, John Denton.

[108]San Francisco, p. 179, Frank Archambault.

[109]Dallas, p. 47, Virginia Edwards.

[110]Dallas, pp. 47-48, La Donna Harris.

[111]Dallas, p. 54, Levi Edwards.

[112]Los Angeles, P. 144, Sam Kalb.

[113]San Francisco, p. 14, Anthony Matcha.

[114]San Francisco, pp. 238-241, Lehman Brightman.

[115]Los Angeles, p. 231, Meredith Quinn.

[116]San Francisco, pp. 178-179, Frank Archambault.

[117]Los Angeles, pp. 96-97, La Donna Harris, Ernie Peters, Roger Jourdain.

[118]Dallas, p. 95, Joe Tafoya.

[119]Los Angeles, pp. 267-268, Clem Janis.

[120]Dallas, p. 91, Joe Tafoya.

[121]Los Angeles, p. 150, Sam Kalb.

[122]Los Angeles, p. 91, Francis Allen.

[123]Dallas, p. 112, La Donna Harris, Robert W. Beames.

[124]Los Angeles, pp. 140-141, D. L. Mahoney.

[125]Dallas, p. 107, Robert W. Beames.

[126]Dallas, p. 122, Robert W. Beames.

[127]Dallas, p. 116, Robert W. Beames.

[128]Dallas, p. 123, Jerry Hargis, Robert W. Beames, Irene Day.

[129]Dallas, p. 109, Robert W. Beames.

[130]Los Angeles, pp. 124-125, D. L. Mahoney.

[131]Los Angeles, p. 130, D. L. Mahoney.

[132]San Francisco, p. 231, Walter Jones.

[133]Minneapolis, p. 181, Emily Peake.

[134]San Francisco, p. 232, Walter Jones.

[135]San Francisco, p. 232, Mary Lee Justice.

[136]San Francisco, pp. 235-236, Unidentified member of the audience, Walter Jones, Earl Livermore.

[137]San Francisco, pp. 230-231, Walter Jones, Mary Lee Justice.

[138]San Francisco, p. 98, Adam Nordwall.

[139]Dallas, p. 35, La Donna Harris.

[140]Dallas, p. 75, Bernice Johnson.

[141]Los Angeles, pp. 108-109, La Donna Harris, Tim Wapato.

[142]San Francisco, p. 95, Adam Nordwall.

[143]Minneapolis, pp. 205-206, Jerry Fallis.

[144]San Francisco, p. 48, Sonny Gorbet.

[145]San Francisco, pp. 57-58, E. E. Papke.

[146]Dallas, pp. 36-37, La Donna Harris, Dan Willis.

[147]San Francisco, p. 230, Gerald Sam.

[148]Minneapolis, pp. 124-125, Delores Raisch.

[149]Minneapolis, pp. 193-194, Isabelle McLaughlin.

[150]Minneapolis, p. 125, La Donna Harris, Delores Raisch.

[151]Minneapolis, p. 122, Delores Raisch.

[152]Los Angeles, pp. 119-120. Fred Gabourie.

[153]Los Angeles, p. 152, Joe Vasquaz.

[154]Dallas, p. 170, Robert Beames.

[155]Dallas, p. 161-162, Joe Miller.

[156]Dallas, p. 37, Juanita Ahtone.

[157]Dallas, p. 38, Juanita Ahtone.

[158]Los Angeles, p. 200, Mrs. Fred Gabourie.

[159]Dallas, p. 171, Juanita Ahtone.

[160]Minneapolis, pp. 72-73, Audrey Wyman.

[161]Minneapolis, p. 178, Amy Flocken.

[162]Los Angeles, p. 103, Tim Wapato.

[163]Los Angeles, p. 67, Noel Campbell.

[164]Los Angeles, p. 196, Donn Byron.

[165]Los Angeles, p. 173, Burt Walters.

[166]Los Angeles, p. 151, Sam Kalb.

[167]Minneapolis, p. 102, Charles Deegan.

[168]Los Angeles, pp. 228-229, Mrs. Marion Rawlinson.

[169]Los Angeles, p. 266, Clem Janis.

[170]Los Angeles, p. 281, William Carmack.

[171]San Francisco, p. 29, Horace Spencer.

[172]Los Angeles, p. 103, Tim Wapato.

[173]San Francisco, p. 16, Anthony Matcha.

[174]Dallas, pp. 171-172, La Donna Harris.

[175]Minneapolis, pp. 99-100, Charles Deegan.

[176]Phoenix, p. 62, Juana Lyon.

[177]Phoenix, p. 62 Juana Lyon.

[178]Dallas, p. 126, Eula B. Palmer.

[179]Phoenix, p. 23, Bill Street.

[180]Dallas, p. 185, George Effman, Joe Carmouche, Bess Tittle.

[181]Dallas, p. 188, William Staton, Joe Carmouche.

[182]Minneapolis, pp. 85-86, Mr. Lussier.

[183]San Francisco, pp. 68-69, Mary Lee Justice.

[184]Minneapolis, pp. 176-177, Amy Flocken.

[185]Los Angeles, pp. 189-190, Formal Statement of Conn Byron.

[186]Dallas, p. 119, Robert W Beames.

[187]Phoenix, p. 46, Lee Cook.